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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

RED FLAG

No 5, 1 MARCH 1987



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## CHINA REPORT

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#### RED FLAG

No 5, 1 March 1987

[Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal RED FLAG of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.]

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**ADHERING TO THE FOUR CARDINAL PRINCIPLES AND INSISTING ON REFORM, OPENING UP,  
AND ECONOMIC INVIGORATION ARE AN INTEGRATED BODY**

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 87 p 2

["Forum"]

[Text] Adhering to the four cardinal principles and insisting on reform, opening up, and economic invigoration are the two basic points of the party's line since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. One is the foundation for building our country, and the other is our basic national policy. The two sides are closely linked to each other, and neither is dispensable. They are integrated into the whole historical process of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

In the current struggle against bourgeois liberalization, some people think that the adherence to the four cardinal principles contradicts reform, opening up, and economic enlivening, and they are worried that the emphasis on the four cardinal principles may affect the implementation of the policy for reform, opening up, and economic invigoration. Some other comrades, on the other hand, do not quite understand reform, opening up, and economic invigoration, and even treat this as taking the capitalist road, so when the four cardinal principles are emphasized, they think that the policy for reform, opening up, and economic invigoration will be changed. These two opinions are both one-sided. People holding these two opinions do not understand that our policy for reform, opening up, and economic invigoration is always based on the four principles. The four cardinal principles determine the course and orientation of reform, opening up, and economic invigoration. Our economic structural reform cannot change the socialist economic system based on the public ownership system; our political structural reform cannot weaken and shake off the party's leadership, cannot weaken and give up the people's democratic dictatorship, cannot weaken and change the system of the people's congress, and in a word, cannot radically change the socialist political system. We open up to the outside world, introduce foreign funds and advanced technology, and allow the development of the individual economy to an appropriate degree, but all this can only be a necessary supplement to our socialism and does not mean that we will take the capitalist road. In short, the purpose of reform and opening up is to improve our socialist system, promote the development of social productive forces, and expedite the process of socialist modernization. Adherence to the four cardinal principles and

insistence on reform, opening up, and economic invigoration are completely in line with each other. The advocates of bourgeois liberalization sometimes also flaunted the banner of reform and opening up, but they in essence held to the so-called "all-round Westernization" and attempted to divert our current policies to the capitalist road. They certainly opposed the four cardinal principles and they also deliberately set the four cardinal principles against reform and opening up. We should expose their sinister attempts and pretexts. Our emphasis on adhering to the four cardinal principles and our opposition to bourgeois liberalization will just lead to better implementation of the policy for reform, opening up, and economic invigoration rather than changing this policy. Insistence on reform, opening up, and economic invigoration will just help maintain the party's leadership and the socialist system.

The party's line, principles, and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, including the policy for reform, opening up, and economic invigoration, were decided collectively by the party central leadership on the basis of summing up the positive and negative experience in the past 30 years and more and through repeated discussions. Practice in the past few years has proved their correctness and successfulness; they have brought a great deal of benefit to the people and have been supported by the whole party and the whole people. So the whole party and the people throughout the country will never agree to change them, and there is no foundation for changing these policies among the people. These policies will not be changed because of some personnel changes in the central leadership; the central leaders have no intention of changing these policies. At present, if there are any changes, that is to change the conditions in which we are not able to oppose bourgeois liberalization with a clear-cut and resolute attitude so as to better and more comprehensively carry out the line, principles, and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

Opposing bourgeois liberalization is a long-term task in the political and ideological field, and it will be carried out throughout the entire process of reform and opening up. We should have an all-round viewpoint and prevent one-sidedness. Sometimes, we may stress the opposition to bourgeois liberalization; and sometimes, we may talk more about reform, opening up, and economic invigoration. This does not mean that we will use one thing to negate the other; instead, the two things serve the same purpose, that is, the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

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## ADHERE TO MARXISM-Leninism-MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 87 pp 3-5

[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought constitutes the theoretical basis and guiding ideology for the other three of the four cardinal principles. The CPC is armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The theoretical basis for people's democratic dictatorship is the Marxist-Leninist theory of state. The socialism with distinct Chinese characteristics we are building is scientific socialism expounded in Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, the "Resolution on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Spiritual Civilization" adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee points out: "To modernize China and build a socialist society, it is essential for us to adhere to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought." This thesis profoundly reflects the fundamental experience of the Chinese revolution and construction. Exactly for this reason, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought has become the target of fierce attack by those who advocate bourgeois liberalization. They spare no efforts to belittle Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and deny its guiding role. Fang Lizhi said: "Marxism is but a school of thought." "Marxism as a science has accomplished its historical mission. We must now seek a new truth." Upholding or denying and abolishing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is one of the fundamental political and ideological differences between us and those who advocate bourgeois liberalization.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought did not proclaim itself as the guiding ideology for the Chinese revolution and construction. It has become our guiding ideology as a result of history. Everyone knows that the Chinese people finally found the correct revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism only after experiencing innumerable trials and tribulations. The history of China following the Opium War was a period in which imperialism and Chinese feudalism worked hand in hand to turn China into a semifeudal, semicolonial, and colonial society. It was also a period in which the Chinese people resisted the imperialists and their running dogs. During the 70-odd years of the resistance movement (from 1840 to 1919), the Chinese people, in spite of their unyielding heroism in bloody battles, experienced repeated defeats. China was, admittedly, economically backward and short of material and weapons. However, what China needed most at that time was none



other than an ideological weapon to resist imperialism. Feudalism was certainly no match for imperialism; it soon allied with imperialism and became the social foundation for imperialism in China. Peasant egalitarianism also retreated in defeat, for its fantasy of transforming the world was built on the handicraft industry and the small-scale peasant economy. Later, the Chinese people again acquired from the armory of the Western bourgeois revolution period the theory of natural rights, bourgeois democracy, and other ideas as their ideological weapons. Confident that they would be able to resist the big powers, they established a republic; they formed political parties and launched a revolution. However, the idea of founding a bourgeois republic in China simply did not work and the plan fell through. Amid despair and at a crossroads, the Chinese people finally learned something new from the October Revolution of Russia--Marxism--and as a result, the CPC was founded. From then on, the Chinese people, under CPC leadership, went through decades of hard struggle and achieved the victory of new democratic revolution and socialist revolution. They also carried out extensive political, economic, and cultural construction and scored unprecedented achievements. All these are objective facts that nobody can deny.

A review of modern history reveals that at the same time Marxism-Leninism was introduced into China, other doctrines of one kind or another also came in, such as bourgeois democracy, pragmatism, reformism (including national salvation by developing industry, education, science, and so forth), guild socialism, state socialism, anarchism, and so forth. In the beginning, Marxism-Leninism was one among many. In the raging flames of the Chinese revolution, however, all the other doctrines resembled something appearing in the morning and perishing in the evening. After a brief appearance, they all became things of the past while Marxism-Leninism--and Marxism-Leninism alone--was accepted by the Chinese people and became the ideology guiding the Chinese revolution. This was not accidental. It indicated that though other doctrines once had this or that kind of influence on China, and some even played an active role, they were far from being comparable to Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism is the only scientific truth meeting the needs of the Chinese revolution and longed for by the Chinese people. Noted American writer Snow, an old friend of the Chinese people, once made this remark based on his in-depth inspection of old China: "In such a country, child laborers aged 10 to 12 were often placed in confinement at night. They slept on rag heaps under the machines they worked in the day. People need not have a sharp perception to know why the 'Manifesto of the Communist Party' is cherished as a bible by the people of this country. (I can see the above-mentioned phenomenon about child laborers even in Chinese-owned stores of Shanghai, which is within the domain of influence of foreigners.) Besides, the Western democracy that the Chinese have come across is limited to a few aspects, such as playing the role of a foreign police force and protecting the seizure of China's 'power and interests' by force. For this reason, people need not make a careful study to know why the Chinese can immediately and completely accept Marx' contemptuous attack on the hypocrisy of Western democracy." ("Collected Works of Snow," Vol 4, p 58) This appraisal made by Snow accords completely with China's actual situation.



Since the Chinese found Marxism-Leninism, they have entered a brand-new period in all aspects from thinking to daily life. The universal truth of Marxism-Leninism integrated with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution produced Mao Zedong Thought. Mao Zedong Thought is the application and development of Marxism-Leninism in China. Mao Zedong Thought, itself, has a development process. In the history of our party, we experienced three great turning points (the opening of the Jinggang Shan road in 1927; the success of the Zunyi meeting and the victory of the Red Army's Long March in 1935; and the reestablishment of the party's correct line at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in 1978). Running through these was a fundamental principle; that is, the integration of the universal truth with the concrete practice of China's revolution and construction. This is also the correct course for the development of Mao Zedong Thought. All the achievements and victories we have scored in revolution and construction are inseparably linked with our strict adherence to this course while all setbacks and failures we have suffered are due to our deliberate or unwitting departure from this course. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have combined study and creation and taken our own road to build socialism with distinct Chinese characteristics. This is to adhere to the course of integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China's socialist construction and to continuously absorb its wisdom and strength for winning victories. Those who advocate bourgeois liberalization have turned a blind eye to this fact and have gone as far as to want us to discard Marxism-Leninism as well as Mao Zedong Thought and to look for a "new truth." The "truth" in their minds is no other than "total Westernization," that is, taking the capitalist road. Obviously, this runs totally against the fundamental interests and wishes of the broad masses of people.

The adverse current against Marxism has emerged many times. During the period of democratic revolution, the bourgeois diehards repeatedly asked the Communist Party to "pack up" communism, that is, Marxism. Comrade Mao Zedong sharply pointed out: "This is something that we cannot 'pack up.' China will perish if this is packed up. The world today relies on communism as its savior. China today is also like this." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 647) What is the result? The bourgeois diehards' clamor about "packing up" Marxism and the diehards themselves have been crushed to pieces by the wheel of history. Following the change of the seasons, China has already become a socialist nation. Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought have not only demonstrated their tremendous power, but are vigorously guiding the cause of socialism to forge ahead triumphantly. At present, those who crave for bourgeois liberalization once again step forward to say that the historic mission of Marxism has been "completed," that there is a need for a change, and so on. It is certain that they too will not be able to escape their destiny to fail in the end, just like what happened to Hu Shi and others who advocated "total Westernization" at a much earlier date.

Those who peddle bourgeois liberalization claim that upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought means dogmatism. This assertion also runs counter to history and reality. It is true that our party committed dogmatist mistakes in early years, and that Mao Zedong Thought took shape and developed

mainly in the course of waging the struggle against dogmatism. Comrade Mao Zedong time and again pointed out: "Dogmatism" is not Marxism. It opposes Marxism. Needless to say, we too have committed dogmatist mistakes on the issue of dealing with Mao Zedong Thought. However, after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping reaffirmed the need to uphold the four cardinal principles and adhere to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. He did this precisely for the purpose of criticizing and getting rid of dogmatism over Mao Zedong Thought and of fundamentally opposing the erroneous trend in negating Mao Zedong Thought. Whatever we say on upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought not only has nothing to do with dogmatism; it is also a powerful weapon in opposing dogmatism. In his important speech, entitled: "Uphold the Four Cardinal Principles," Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Scientific socialism develops in the course of actual struggle, and so do Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. We will not, of course, backtrack from scientific socialism to utopian socialism, nor will we allow Marxism to remain arrested at the level of the particular theses arrived at as long as a century ago." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 165) It is precisely because of this that in dealing with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, we must, first, uphold them; and second, develop them, while dialectically combining the two in the course of making the revolution and carrying out construction. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, have studied new situations, solved new problems, and summed up new experiences. We have put forward the policy of carrying out reforms, opening to the outside world, and invigorating the domestic economy. We have helped Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought attain tremendous progress during the new period, as everyone knows. Under these circumstances, anyone who tries to confuse dogmatism with upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought or oppose the practice of upholding Marxism-Leninism on the excuse of opposing dogmatism obviously has ulterior motives.

In our nation, Marxism plays a leading role in the entire realm of socialist ideology. Thus, the spread of Marxism and of socialism and communism must play a leading role, particularly in upholding the correct viewpoints on all major issues of theory and principle, in developing sciences (including natural science and social science), in promoting literature and art, and in educating young people on the "four hases." Not long ago, some people regarded the criticism and defamation of Marxism as something "fashionable." Whoever opposed them was branded as "using the big stick." This was an extremely abnormal phenomenon. Marxists should step forward and speak up. Communist Party members on the ideological front, particularly those who are influential and assume leading posts, should uphold Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, stand at the forefront against the trend of bourgeois liberalization, and truly achieve the goal of "using our truth to oppose bourgeois 'truth,' and making people recognize our truth." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 364)

To uphold Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, we must, first of all, earnestly study and comprehend their stand, viewpoints, and methods, while deepening our theoretical understanding. At the national party congress

held in 1985, Comrade Deng Xiaoping especially asked all cadres, new and old, to study Marxist theories. He pointed out: Only by studying basic Marxist theory in light of the new situation "can we increase our ability to apply its basic principles and methods to come up with solutions to the fundamental questions arising in the political, economic, social, and cultural fields. In this way, we can both advance our cause and the theory of Marxism itself and prevent comrades, particularly those newly promoted young and middle-aged comrades, from losing their bearings in the complex struggle." On the issue of earnestly studying Marxism, the "Resolution" adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee also pointed out: "It is impossible to uphold and develop Marxism if we do not study it seriously." To study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought is the solemn duty of Communist Party members, particularly the party's leading cadres. All of us must persistently study them in light of the new situation. This constitutes a basic ideological guarantee to ensure that our nation will forever develop healthily along the socialist path.

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**DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM IS THE PARTY'S FINE TRADITION—READING COMRADE DENG XIAOPING'S SPEECH AT THE ENLARGED CENTRAL WORK CONFERENCE IN 1962**

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 87 pp 6-9

[Article by Zheng Shi [6774 1395]]

[Text] The CPC Central Committee held an enlarged work conference (also called a "conference of 7,000 officials") from 11 January to 7 February 1962. At the conference, Comrade Deng Xiaoping delivered a lengthy speech on party building (see RED FLAG, No 4, 1987). In his speech, Comrade Deng Xiaoping called on the whole party to resume and carry forward the party's fine tradition, observe and perfect democratic centralism, ensure the system of normal inner-party life, and create a vivid, political situation characterized by both centralism and democracy, discipline and freedom, and unity of will and ease of mind as mentioned by Comrade Mao Zedong. This speech has withstood the test of time and has been proved to be absolutely correct. Today, the speech is still of great guiding significance to our party building.

**I**

In the speech, Comrade Deng Xiaoping summed up the experience and lessons of the period after 1958. He pointed out: "There have been serious shortcomings in party leadership and party work in recent years. What is particularly important is that the party's fine traditions have been weakened. In some places, there is a considerable degree of weakening." "Many comrades have not done enough in persevering in the party's fine traditions. In particular, neglect of and damage to the three fine traditions of seeking truth from facts, following the mass line, and practicing democratic centralism have done very great harm to our work. The whole party should pay serious attention to the matter." (Quotations hereinafter where the source is not given are all quoted from Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech) In the long-term revolutionary struggles, particularly under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong after the Zunyi Conference, the party's organization system based on democratic centralism took shape, ensuring unity of the party and enhancing its fighting capacity. During the period from the Zunyi Conference to socialist transformation, our party developed rapidly and our revolution and construction proceeded smoothly because the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong took note of practicing collective leadership and democratic centralism. In addition, the normal inner-party democratic life provided a guarantee in



organizational system for the implementation of the party's correct line. Historical experience of the party has repeatedly proved that when democratic centralism is weakened and undermined, it will correspondingly weaken and undermine party leadership and lead the party astray.

In view of the positive and negative experience and lessons in the history of our party as well as in the international communist movement, Comrade Deng Xiaoping emphatically expounded in his speech the great significance of the fine tradition of democratic centralism upheld by the ruling party. He pointed out: "Without democracy, there can be no centralism. This centralism can be truly and correctly realized only on a democratic basis." He particularly stressed: Democratic centralism is the fundamental system of the party and state. Upholding and perfecting this traditional system is a very important matter concerning the destinies of the party and state. "If we fail to properly implement democratic centralism, the nature of the party, the state, socialism, cadres, and individuals will change." This remark of Comrade Deng Xiaoping is pregnant with meaning. It shows that Comrade Deng Xiaoping had already called on the whole party at that time to attach importance to the implementation of democratic centralism.

Democratic centralism provides a guarantee in organizational system for the whole party, particularly leadership of the party Central Committee, to carry forward achievements and correct mistakes. No proletarian political party or its central committee is exempt from making mistakes. "The question is whether we solemnly and seriously look at the questions and handle them in a manner of seeking truth from facts." To achieve this, it is necessary above all to persevere in and practice democratic centralism. Only in this way can we encourage free airing of criticism, sincerely accept criticism and conduct self-criticism, and make an objective assessment of our work. If we fail to practice democratic centralism, on the one hand, it will be difficult to carry forward normal inner-party democratic life. As the views of party members are not identical with those of party leaders, it is difficult to express the correct views and proposals through appropriate means and to influence the party leaders to correct their ideas and views. On the other hand, it will also be difficult for normal centralism to take shape within the party. Besides the failure to collect the correct views, it will be rather difficult to effectively correct and check the mistaken ideas and proposals. Occasionally, some erroneous views may be carried to extremes under the pretext of centralism. Consequently, democracy and centralism cannot be realized accordingly. When there is a failure to implement democratic centralism by the higher authorities, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out after summing up the experience and lessons at that time, "many things appear in form to be more centralized than in the past, but in fact, the phenomena of decentralization are very serious. In addition, there are many things that appear in form to be more democratic than in the past, but in fact, the phenomena of commandism and of a few people or an individual acting in an arbitrary and despotic fashion are very serious."

Democratic centralism constitutes an important content in inner-party life. It is also the guarantee for carrying forward other fine traditions of the

party. Following the Zunyi Conference, a perfect system of inner-party life took shape within the party. For example, the method of unity, criticism, unity; do not blame the speaker but be warned by his words, learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient; criticize strictly, handle leniently, and never go to extremes or strike merciless blows, and work hard, lead a plain life, and be modest and prudent. Perfection of the system of inner-party life should be based on and also ensured by democratic centralism. If we weaken democratic centralism, it would be out of the question to maintain a perfect system of inner-party life and to carry forward the party's fine traditions. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "For instance, seeking truth from facts and speaking honestly were originally a fine tradition of the party; however, for various reasons, such as failure to implement democratic centralism and excessive fierceness in waging struggle in the campaigns, a bad atmosphere has developed in the party in recent years in which people do not report conditions as they stand and are scared to speak honestly." This is a severe lesson.

Democratic centralism is the effective means to ensure that the party establishes close ties with the masses and goes deep into the realities of life. To establish close ties with the masses, both democracy and centralism are necessary. If we have centralism without democracy, the views may not originate from the masses and the plans and policies formulated will be divorced from the masses. If we have democracy without centralism, it will inevitably lead to weak and incompetent leadership. Consequently, there will be a lack of correct guidance for the masses. If the leaders cannot collect the correct views of the masses and then give them guidance, they will also be divorced from the masses. For this reason, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "As far as leadership methods are concerned, we can only go to the masses by coming from the masses. If we have centralism without a basis of democracy, we cannot truly come from the masses and go to the masses."

These brilliant expositions by Comrade Deng Xiaoping are the summarization of the party's experience gained over a considerable period and are the guidelines for the building of the ruling party.

## II

In view of the great significance of the perfection of democratic centralism on party building, Comrade Deng Xiaoping called on all party members to resume this good system in earnest and carry it forward. He particularly pointed out that the key to adherence to and perfection of democratic centralism lies with leadership at all levels, particularly the "squad leader" and "deputy squad leaders" in the party committee.

To take the lead in upholding democratic centralism and practicing collective leadership, party leaders should be intensively cultivated and should have a high degree of consciousness. First, they should foster a mass viewpoint. The secretary should frequently listen to the views of the masses and lower levels, take note of pooling collective wisdom, and truly be the people's servant. Having entered the cities and taken power, the conditions are ripe for becoming officials, and we are most prone to be contaminated by

bureaucracy. For this reason, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "We must pay attention to the special feature of the ruling party every hour of every day. Having understood this special feature, we will be able to pay still more attention to persevering in the party's fine traditions." In leadership work, we should always adhere to the method of "from the masses, to the masses" so as to avoid being tainted with bureaucracy and being divorced from practice and the masses. Second, they should foster a democratic viewpoint. "Leaders cannot do everything 100 percent correctly without the slightest shortcoming or error. The question lies in whether they have the spirit of self-criticism regarding their own shortcomings and errors, whether they allow others to criticize them, and whether they can accept correct criticisms and act on them. If one has made a mistake and speaks sufficiently about it, and is also able to listen to the critical opinions of others, one will have the initiative and put everyone at ease." Leaders at all levels should particularly be good at listening attentively to opposing and different views and opinions of the minority. Third, they should foster an attitude of treating others equally. All members are equal within the party and no one should be superior to others. The relations between them are normal comradely relations. This is particularly necessary within the party committees. The relationship between secretary and members is one in which the minority should be subordinate to the majority. Under no circumstances should we allow the existence of any form of dependent relations. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "The leaders should be a bit more broadminded in their attitude. They must tolerate others, be able to listen to opposing views, treat others as equals, and be modest and prudent." Fourth, they should learn the work method of "playing the piano." Although it is not an easy job, we should continuously learn. New things are constantly taking place and new problems are continuously emerging. Our work locality and objective are also changing from time to time. When you have learned something today, you may forget it tomorrow. Therefore, "we must learn to 'play the piano' and conduct a band every day." Only by constantly enriching and perfecting themselves and setting strict demands on themselves in light of the requirements of party spirit can the leaders promote a harmonious, comradely relation within the party committee and create a fine environment in ideology and style for persevering in collective leadership.

To take the lead in persevering in democratic centralism and practicing collective leadership, party leaders should set an example in observing party discipline. Political discipline constitutes the most important aspect of party discipline. Regarding centralism and unity of the party, "the most important factor is ideological unity. Only with ideological unity can there be unified action." To maintain ideological and political unity of the party, Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forward two organizational measures of guarantee. First, "resolutions of the party must be implemented." Party members are allowed to raise objection if they do not agree with the party resolutions. They may also request amendments if they think that there are mistakes in the resolutions. Nonetheless, "party members should implement the resolutions of the party, even though they are allowed to have reservations." It is a violation of party discipline to refuse to implement the party resolutions. Second, "factional activities are not allowed." While party members enjoy full democratic rights, they should keep within the



bounds of strict discipline. This manifests the coordination and unity of a high degree of democracy and centralism of the party.

To ensure implementation of democratic centralism within the party and guarantee collective leadership, Comrade Deng Xiaoping especially stressed the necessity of establishing an effective system to restrain party leaders so that they will not trample on democratic centralism and undermine collective leadership of the party without restriction. Such party supervision and restraint over the leaders at all levels comes from several angles, from above, from below (lower levels), from the masses, and from party group life. The most important supervision of a party leader comes from the party committee itself or from the standing committee itself. Party committees should regularly carry out organizational activities and hold heart-to-heart talks from time to time. This supervisory role may be a bit better if comrades of the same level and engaged in the same work hold heart-to-heart talks. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "We should attach importance to the question of the role of mutual supervision within the party committees. Things that the upper and lower levels cannot see every day are most familiar to leading members of the same level. This is also very important for discussing problems, gaining identity of views, and making decisions within the same level."

The system of party committees collectively discussing and deciding on major issues should be set up. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that the problems handled by party committees are generally classified under the following headings: One kind is the routine problem, and the other is the major problem or problem of policy and of an important nature. Routine problems have to be handled by a division of duties. It is not necessary for the party committee to collectively discuss and decide on every single matter. "However, major issues should be considered according to the situation and brought up to the committee, standing committee, or secretariat for discussion, so that the participants will arrive at common understanding and jointly make a decision." If opinions diverge, the majority rules.

It is very important to ensure collective leadership and implementation of democratic centralism from the system and other aspects. History teaches us that grave political, economic, ideological, and cultural mistakes are without exception related to party leaders undermining democratic centralism within the party committee and sabotaging collective leadership. Party leaders usually make serious mistakes when they ignore the opinions of the masses, ignore warnings from the party committee and other members, refuse to abide by the resolutions and decisions adopted by party conferences, and express their views on major issues before they are discussed by the collective. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "After taking this power, we have to be careful. We should not think that things are easy to do now that we have power, or that we can do what we like. That would inevitably result in doing something bad."

### III

Twenty-five years have elapsed since 1962. This tortuous period has evidently proved the abstruse thinking of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech which



pinpointed the problems in our party building. The speech can help us understand Comrade Deng Xiaoping's consistent idea when we study it again today.

In view of historical lessons, particularly the lesson of the "Great Cultural Revolution," Comrade Deng Xiaoping repeatedly pointed out after the downfall of the "gang of four": To persevere in democratic centralism and ensure collective leadership, it is necessary to pay attention to the building of systems. "System is a decisive factor." "The problems in the leadership and organizational systems are more fundamental, widespread, and long-lasting, and they have a greater effect on the overall interests of our country. This is a question that has a close bearing on whether our party and state will change political color and should therefore command the attention of the entire party." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," pp 273, 293) He also said that if the systems are sound, they can place restraints on the actions of bad people; if they are unsound, they may hamper the efforts of good people or indeed, in certain cases, may push them in the wrong direction. For this reason, he proposed to the whole party the establishment, perfection, and reform of the systems which became the party's important policy decision. Comrade Deng Xiaoping also pointed out: "Some serious problems which appeared in the past may arise again if the defects in our present systems are not eliminated. Only when these defects are resolutely removed through planned, systematic, and thorough reforms will the people trust our leadership, our party, and socialism. Then our cause will truly have a future of boundless promise." (Ibid., p 293) Naturally, "the purpose of reforming the system of party and state leadership is precisely to maintain and further strengthen party leadership and discipline, and not to weaken and relax them." (Ibid., pp 300-301)

In 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out in his article entitled "On the Reform of the System of Party and State Leadership" that democratic life, collective leadership, democratic centralism, and division of labor with individual responsibility of the party and government at all levels must not be encroached upon. He comprehensively expounded the systems of collective leadership and division of labor with individual responsibility and pointed out: "Party committees at all levels are genuinely to apply the principle of combining collective leadership and division of labor with individual responsibility. It should be made clear which matters call for collective discussion and which fall within the competence of individuals. Major issues must certainly be discussed and decided upon by the collective. In the process of taking decisions, it is essential to observe strictly the principle of majority rule and the principle of one-man-one-vote, a party secretary being entitled to only a single vote. That is, the first secretary must not take decisions by himself. Once a collective decision is taken, it should be carried out by all members, each taking his own share of responsibility. No buck-passing should be allowed on any account, and those who neglect their duties should be penalized." (Ibid., p 300)

Comrade Deng Xiaoping also pointed out: To persevere in collective leadership, the party committee secretary should be subordinate to the organization and should abide by the decisions taken collectively by the party committee. He said: "Democratic centralism and collective leadership should be genuinely

practiced in inner-party life as well as in the country's political life. Determined efforts should be made to rectify such bad practices as decision-making by a single person who alone has the final say in all things, or the refusal of a minority of cadres to implement collective decisions." (Ibid., p 319)

These expositions of Comrade Deng Xiaoping upheld and carried forward the party's fine traditions and democratic centralism and provided the principles and guiding ideology for persevering in collective leadership. These ideological principles are included in the "Rules of Conduct for Inner-Party Political Life" and the new party Constitution adopted by the 12th CPC National Congress to coordinate and guide the activities of party organizations at all levels. What we need now is to further establish various systems in actual life, particularly to solve the question of democratic centralism at the central level of our party and state in earnest, so that we can have a full set of systems to urge the high level leaders of the party and state to strictly abide by the Constitution and observe party discipline, so they will not act freely without restrictions, and the administration of our party and state will be based on systems rather than man.

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## PHILOSOPHICAL QUESTIONS ABOUT COSMOLOGY

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[Text] Is the universe finite or infinite? The development of modern cosmology has again raised this age-old philosophical question. Centering on this, this article discusses some relevant issues. It explains, from the viewpoint of dialectical materialism, why the universe is infinite, pointing out that from the viewpoint of practical tests, both the theory that the universe is finite and the theory that it is infinite are hypotheses. Some people believe the theory that the universe is infinite is "apriority" in defiance of scientific practice. In fact, similar criticism is also applicable to the "theory that the universe is finite." The article discusses the question of whether or not the explosively expanding universe theory [bao zhang yu zhou lun 2552 5195 1342 1352 6158] has proved that the universe evolved out of nothing and the writer gives a negative reply. He also points out that the Hodgkin theory quoted as a basis by those who advocate the theory that the universe is finite has not been universally accepted in the world and that it has not been verified in experiments and observations. It is still far from becoming a scientific achievement. For this reason it still cannot be cited as a scientific basis for the theory that the universe "evolved out of nothing."

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### 1. Why Should We Study Cosmology?

Cosmology is a branch of learning concerning the history of how the universe came into being and has developed. By making astronomical observations people have accumulated a large quantity of observational data, some of which concerns the characteristics of the large-scale universe, such as the average density of the existing universe, the abundance of different elements, and the age of the galaxy or universe. With regard to these data on the

characteristics of the universe as a whole, there is a demand for a unified explanation which can be used as a guide in future astronomical observations; hence the study of cosmology. It can be said that cosmology is a concrete manifestation of /the unity of the material world/, which is a fundamental philosophical principle in relation to cosmic issues.

## 2. What is the Universe? What Does the Concept of the Universe Include?

The concept of the universe originally referred to space-time, to "all directions from top to bottom and time immemorial." However, the concept of the universe universally applied in astronomy today refers to the physical or material world that can be observed by astronomers rather than to time and space. Existing astronomical telescopes, including wireless telescopes, can generally observe a scope covering 10 billion light-years. Therefore, the theory discussed in modern astronomy on how the universe came into being and has developed, namely, cosmology, refers to the universe that can be observed. Sometimes it is also called "our universe." This is because scientific research must be based on scientific facts.

It should be noted, however, that the so-called "our universe" is constantly developing. At the time of Copernicus the universe was actually nothing more than the solar system. It did not even include Neptune and Pluto. Later, the development of telescopes enabled people to expand their sight to the galactic system and to discover that the sun is only a very ordinary star in the galactic system. People further discovered that there are many galactic systems and that galaxies can form clusters called clusters of galaxies. People also discovered that there is still some dark matter (Footnote 1) (The dark matter, namely the non-illuminating matter, can hardly be directly observed by telescopes. Astronomical observations show that its total mass is greater than that of illuminating matter.) between various clusters of galaxies. For this reason people gave the sum total of the many clusters of galaxies a new name, the metagalaxy. "Our universe" now refers to this metagalaxy. The actual contents of "our universe" or "universe under observation" are changing but there are also some things that do not change. For example: 1) The universe that has been observed in the past is always a part of the universe that will be observed in the future (naturally except for errors from observations); 2) the "universe under observation" that has been observed is constantly expanding, making it very difficult to designate the ultimate exact scope of the "universe under observation." To include all possible developments of future history it is necessary to make further efforts to establish a universal concept on the universe. The connotation of our "universe under observation" is constantly changing. But the abstract universe which is independent of people's observational practice, or the universe in its most extensive sense, does not change in its connotation. This is the most ordinary concept on the universe. It is both an object of study for physicists and astronomers and an object of exploration for many philosophers.



### 3. Is the Universe Finite or Infinite? Why Is the Universe Infinite From the Viewpoint of Dialectical Materialism?

If the universe here refers to the universe under observation it will not cause any disputes because the universe under observation at the moment is always finite. However, if possible future developments are also included, if it refers to the universe in the most extensive sense (called the universe hereafter for short), two different views will immediately arise: The universe is finite and the universe is infinite.

Those who believe that the universe is finite have an important argument. No matter how strong people's observation capability is the actual scope that can be observed by them is always finite. Although "our universe" is constantly expanding, this expansion has one thing in common, namely, that the scope is not infinitely large. For this reason the universe is finite. Moreover, judging from existing observation devices it is impossible in scientific terms for us to exceed the scope of the metagalaxy. (Footnote 2) (This involves many meticulous scientific issues. For example, the velocity of light is finite. As another example is that the present universe is probably a sealed one in which light moves around an enclosed manifold [feng bi liu xing 1409 7028 3177 1748]. I shall not discuss this in detail here.) Therefore, it is also possible to form the concept that the so-called abstract or general universe is precisely the present metagalaxy.

According to the philosophy of dialectical materialism the universe is infinite. The reasons are as follows: 1) From the viewpoint of practical tests, both the theory that the universe is finite and the theory that it is infinite /are likewise hypotheses/ or merely views on future scientific development. It is naturally very difficult through practice to verify the proposition that the universe is infinite. It is also not easy to verify and prove the proposition that the universe is finite because it must be proved that there is indeed "nothing" beyond the universe, which is also a difficult thing to do. Some people believe the theory that the universe is infinite is "apriority" in defiance of scientific practice. In fact, similar criticism is also applicable to the "theory that the universe is finite." 2) From a logical point of view, compared to the hypothesis that the universe is finite, the hypothesis that the universe is infinite is more logical. This is precisely what Engels meant in his work "Anti-Duhring": "The limited nature of the material world leads no less to contradictions than its unlimited nature." (Footnote 3) ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, pp 90-91) In fact, infinite means unlimited. The sign  $\infty$  or infinitely great in mathematics does not have a clear-cut definition in assembling real numbers. Its relatively clear-cut definition is the ability to find a numerically larger figure than any preassigned large figure. As discussed earlier, the connotation of "our universe" is constantly expanding. Astronomical observations will not stop within a certain scope because new technologies and corresponding concepts always break the original limits. To generalize or summarize such historical experiences we can say that this is precisely the meaning of the infinity of the universe. The difference is that what can be achieved in a few seconds in mathematical calculations will probably take several decades or as many as 100 years to expand the

scope of an astronomical observation each time! The theory that the universe is finite has a logical difficulty: Where is the limit? 3) The concept of the infinity of the universe has two meanings: One is that the development of space is infinite and another is that the development of time is infinite. The concept of the infinite development of time is especially indispensable to the philosophy of dialectical materialism. The concepts of time and matter are closely related. Without matter there would be no time. The concept of limited time, for example, the start or end of time is invariably linked to the creation and elimination of matter. According to dialectical materialism matter is the most fundamental category of dialectical materialist philosophy. The conservation of matter or the concept that matter can neither be created nor eliminated is a basic principle of materialist philosophy. In this article I will not discuss in detail the basis for the practice of this principle and its proof. It will be necessary to write a special article to discuss the many complicated issues involving this principle. However, if we recognize the correctness of this principle as a logical necessity we must recognize the infinity of time. The concept of the infinity of space generally means that space and time are so closely related that the infinity of time /will lead to/ the infinity of space. However, this method of demonstration cannot be regarded as very accurate because the words /will lead to/ are not tantamount to /will inevitably lead to/.

Last, in terms of scientific practice there is also a minor reason which favors the theory that the universe is infinite. The theory that the universe is finite will restrict our scientific horizon to a fixed scope while the theory that the universe is infinite will guide our science to new horizons and new scopes.

#### 4. What Is the "Big Bang Theory"? Does It Support Materialism or Idealism? Does It Support the Theory That the Universe Is Finite or the Theory That the Universe Is Infinite?

The "big bang theory" is a theory in astronomy jointly developed by Alfven [7093 1422 3127], Bethe [6296 3676], (Garmov) [Jia mo fu 8026 5459 1133], and (Herman) [He man 6378 2581] in 1948-49. Because the names of these originators were incidentally homophonic to the letters of the Latin alphabet  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ , and  $\gamma$ , it is also called the  $\alpha$ - $\beta$ - $\gamma$  theory. The central idea of this theory is that there was a big explosion in "our universe" about 10 billion years ago in the course of which various component parts of matter were in such a state of thermodynamic equilibrium that they evolved into various galaxies and clusters of galaxies after the explosion. This theory has achieved the following: 1) It has satisfactorily explained Hubble's law, that is that the distances between stars or galaxies are in direct proportion to the speed at which the red shifts are receding. (Footnote 4) (Astronomical observations show that a great majority of stars or galaxies give out visible specters in smaller frequencies which are called red shifts. This is because these stars or galaxies are moving away from the earth, which is called recession. Based on much observation data, astronomer Hubble discovered that the distances of these galaxies from the earth are in direct proportion to the quantities of red shifts in their specters.

This is called Hubble's law. Its proportional constant is called Hubble's constant. This law shows that the whole universe that can be observed is evenly expanding outward.) 2) It has established the link between Hubble's constant  $H_0$  (namely, the expanding speed) and the age of the universe  $t_0$ , which has been fully supported by observation data. 3) It has explained why the abundance of helium accounts for some 25 percent in the universe and this is what all previous theories on star evolution have failed to explain. (Footnote 5) (Abundance means the percentages of different chemical elements in the total volume of matter in the universe. Helium accounts for 25 percent of the total volume. This is a well-known difficult problem which all previous theories on star evolution found hard to explain.) The outstanding achievements of the big bang theory are that it has forecast the existence of a background radiation at about 3°K. The existence in the universe of an evenly isotropic background radiation whose spectral form is the black body distribution and whose temperature is 3°K. (Footnote 6) (In a 1950 article its forecast value was 5°K because Hubble's constant was not accurately calculated at that time.) (Footnote 7) (The background radiation is the low-frequency radio waves that exist in boundless space. If we measure this radiation in all directions with the use of a highly sensitive and directional wireless telescope we can discover that it does not come from a certain radio source but exists everywhere filling space. Moreover, its intensity and spectral shape are more or less the same in every direction. What is especially strange is that when we measure radio waves of different frequencies we can discover that the dependent relationship between their intensities and frequencies resembles the distribution of black bodies and is quite similar to the figure of black body distribution at 2.7°K. Black body distribution is the distribution curve of the frequencies of lights from certain black bodies. This curve has relatively simple characteristics. It is related only to temperature, that is, after the black bodies are in a certain fixed temperature their frequency spectrum is only a function of temperature. The discovery of black body distribution shows that, in the course of the big explosion, matter, as well as the radiation, was in a state of thermodynamic equilibrium. If thermodynamic equilibrium was to be preserved in the course of the big explosion it was necessary to discover this black body radiation.) What was startling was that the forecast proved correct through wireless telescopic observation in the 1960's. The difference was that its relatively precise temperature was 2.7°K. It should be noted that it was not easy to carry out this observation because, in addition to proving the evenness and isotropy of the radiation, it was necessary to accurately measure its spectral form and to conform the results of the measurement to black body distribution. For this reason both Arno Penzia and Robert Wilson were awarded Nobel prizes. In his book "Natural Dialectics" Engels highly praised the discovery of Neptune because it was first calculated through Newton mechanics and later discovered through observations. That is why Engels called it a "great scientific achievement." Undoubtedly, the discovery of background radiation at 3°K can be compared to the "great achievement" of the discovery of Neptune. The "big bang theory" also forecast the existence of background neutrino and supplied the so-called "algebra," or the existence of restrictions from neutrinos. These also seem to have been initially verified. At present, the "big bang" has been universally acknowledged as the correct "orthodox" theory or standard pattern in modern astronomy.



After its creation the big bang theory was for a time regarded as an idealist theory or theology. This is because it has quite a few similarities with theology in that God created the world. For example, the Roman pope categorically said that the big bang theory proved the existence of God because only God can do such things. An article written by Li Ke, carried in ZIRAN BIANZHENGFA ZAZHI (NATURAL DIALECTICS MAGAZINE) published during the "Great Cultural Revolution," was also based on this assumption when it criticized the big bang theory as idealism. In fact, both the pope and Li Ke forgot that the big bang theory had seized a considerable portion of God's power because after the explosion the creation and development of the universe were subject only to the control of physical laws. God could no longer interfere with them! While attending the International (Solvay) Conference in Austin city, the United States, 4 years ago, I came across Professor (Herman). He told me that while they were studying the big bang theory they wanted to publish it in an academic publication but were rejected repeatedly. It was because their theory was too fantastic. It was later carried in PHYSICS REVIEW after repeated representations by the writers. Therefore, the birth of the big bang theory, as well as its later experience can be regarded as extremely eventful. To date however we shall lag far behind the times if we still regard the big bang theory as an idealist one.

As I have mentioned before, the object of the big bang theory is the metagalaxy. Conditions are so complicated that it is hard to say whether the theory comes under the category of the theory that the universe is finite or the one that the universe is infinite. The big bang theory involves three kinds of cosmic patterns: the open pattern, the closed pattern, and the open pattern that space is flat and straight. The first is that space is infinite but time, which has a beginning, is finite. The second is that time is infinite while space is finite. The third is that both time and space are infinite. Judging from physical mechanisms, the open pattern corresponds to the assumption that the energy of attraction contributed by the gravitational force is smaller than the energy of expansion. The closed pattern corresponds to the assumption that expansion or rejection is smaller than attraction. The third pattern is that both are exactly equal. Which pattern is supported by practical observation data? At present, the open pattern, that is, that the average density of matter in the universe is smaller than the balanced critical density. Around 1980, by applying the data on the red shifts of quasi-stellar objects many academics in China drew the conclusion that the universe is a closed one. Unfortunately, this view did not gain the recognition of most academics in the world because it failed to include the evolutionary effect of quasi-stellar objects, which have an extremely great influence. In 1980, Soviet academics announced that they had succeeded in measuring the lower limit of the neutrino, which is  $M_{\nu e} > 14 \text{ eV}$ . If the experimental result is correct and if the experiments on the oscillation of the neutrino shows the mass of the other two kinds of neutrinos,  $\nu_{\mu}$  and  $\nu_{\tau}$ , is approximately equal to  $\nu_e$ , we shall have the conclusion that "our universe" is a closed one. Unfortunately, the latest experiments show:

$$0 \leq M_{\nu e} \leq 18 \text{ eV}$$



Under these circumstances we can only say that so far there has been no observatory or experimental proof showing the closedness of the universe. It now seems that more observatory results tend toward the openness of the universe.

If the universe is an open one, theoretical problems will emerge one after another because the universe has a beginning. At first glance, this difficulty can be solved by assuming that there was a stage of mutual attraction in the universe before the big explosion but, after being reduced to a certain state of high temperature and high pressure as a result of mutual attraction, the universe would expand once again. In doing so we shall be able to draw the conclusion of an open universe in which the energy of expansion is greater than that of attraction. However, according to the strangeness theorem [qi xing ding li 1142 1840 1353 3810] of the general theory of relativity, such physical conditions cannot possibly emerge. (Footnote 8) (Astronomer Hodgkin once proved in the general relativity theory the inevitable existence of certain singular points which would cause many difficulties in theory. Later, Hodgkin proved that the introduction of the quantum factor could avoid many of the difficulties.) Therefore, it is quite difficult, through the general theory of relativity, to thoroughly solve the thesis that time has a beginning.

A way out is to introduce the quantum theory. It has been proven that, after the introduction of the quantum theory, the strangeness theorem of the general theory of relativity will no longer be correct.

Another way out is to revise the theory of gravitation. Therefore, we shall wait and see how cosmology will develop and how the theoretical difficulties will be solved.

##### 5. What Is the "Limited But Boundless" Universe? Will This Cosmology Lead to the Conclusion That the Universe Is Finite?

The words "limited but boundless" are a geological concept. For example, a closed curve in two-dimensional space and a curved surface in three-dimensional space are limited but boundless. This is because there is no boundary in either the curve or curved surface. But they are boundless only in relation to the unidimensionality of a curve and the two-dimensionality of a curved surface. However, if people are allowed to depart from the unidimensional curve or the two-dimensional curved surface, namely, to move toward a higher dimensional level, the curve or curved surface will not be boundless any more. The "limited but boundless" universe is a four-dimensional ball including time. Because the fifth or sixth dimension exceeding time and space does not have practical physical significance such a pattern is at once finite and boundless. The limited but boundless pattern is precisely the closed universe I have mentioned above. However, even if "our universe," that is, even if the metagalaxy is a closed universe which is finite but boundless, this does not exclude the possibility of the existence of other universes outside "our universe." Therefore, even from the viewpoint of the limited but boundless universe we cannot say that the universe is finite because this universe includes both "ours" and other

universes that have living or lifeless matter. However, under existing theoretical concepts these different universes cannot exchange information.

## 6. What Is the "Highly Expanding Universe Theory"?

The highly expanding universe theory is a kind of cosmology being experimented on. The central idea of this theory is that there was an "explosively expanding" stage before the "big bang." The most important reason for the introduction of this "explosively expanding" stage is aimed at answering the so-called "flat" [ping tan xing 1627 0982 1840] question. An extremely important parameter in the big bang theory is:

$$\Omega = \frac{\rho_0}{\rho_c}$$

Here,  $\rho_0$  refers to the current density of the universe,  $\rho_c$  is a kind of critical density closely related to Hubble's constant. If  $\Omega$  is greater than 1, the universe is a closed one; if  $\Omega$  is smaller than 1, the universe is an open one. If  $\Omega$  is equal to 1, the universe is an open one but the curvature is zero, that is, the cosmic space is equal to Euclid's space which is flat and straight. Astronomical observation shows:

$$0.2 \leq \Omega \leq 2$$

That is to say,  $\Omega$  does not differ much from 1 and, if we want to obtain this result, it is necessary to demand that

$$\left| \frac{\rho(t) - \rho_c(t)}{\rho_c(t)} \right|_{t = 10^{-35} \text{ second}} \leq 10^{-48} !$$

That is to say that in the early stage of the big bang (when  $t = 10^{-35}$  second) the density of the universe  $\rho$  was very close to the critical density and space was very flat. Why was the universe so flat at that time? There must be an explanation. If we introduce an "explosively expanding" stage we will be able to explain  $\rho(t) \approx \rho_c(t) |_{t = 10^{-35} \text{ second}}$ , but this introduction will lead to an important forecast, that is,  $\Omega = 1$   $\rho(t)$ , which means that the existing universe is flat.

There are also other reasons for the introduction of the explosively expanding universe theory, such as answering the questions of the so-called strangeness [qi xing 1142 1840] horizon, magnetic monopoles, and so on. I shall not go into detail here.

What merits our attention is that although the idea of the explosively expanding universe theory is quite appealing, it cannot be said to have been verified through experiments. As stated before, the observation results that have been relatively widely accepted show that  $\Omega$  is smaller than 1. However, we cannot hold that the results of the current observations and experiments have definitely excluded the possibility that  $\Omega$  is equal to 1. For this reason, the forecasts of the explosively expanding universe theory are still to be proved in future observations and experiments. Nevertheless, there are

also many academics who are dissatisfied with Guth's original theory of the explosively expanding universe and they have put forward many revisional plans. There are also others who attempt to fundamentally revise the equation of Einstein's general theory of relativity.

7. Has the Explosively Expanding Universe Theory Verified That the Universe Evolved Out of Nothing?

No. In form the explosively expanding universe theory seems to hold that the universe comes from a "vacuum." But this "vacuum" is nothing but another form of material existence. In physics a "vacuum" is often regarded as a material system being in an extremum state in which the energy is minimal. However, this is only a certain kind of extreme which remains stable under small disturbances. This does not mean that it is also minimal under large disturbances. According to the explosively expanding universe theory conserved energy is supplied from the "vacuum." But "vacuum" is not tantamount to "nothing."

In the study of cosmology there is a latent concept, that is, "insects which are alive only in the summer cannot possibly discuss whether there is ice or not." Similarly, people living in this metagalaxy cannot possibly discuss the universe outside theirs. But the explosively expanding universe theory has discarded this traditional view. In "our universe" there are a lot of phenomena we fail to understand. To explain them and get at the root of the matter it is necessary to hold that outside "our universe" there are still a great many other universes. A hypothesis even holds that there may be as many as  $10^{3000}$  such universes! Naturally, this is only a guess but it is not without foundation. It is a guess based on certain observations plus rational deductions. Therefore, although "insects which are alive in the summer" "cannot possibly discuss whether there is ice or not," "people who live in the summer" can "discuss whether there is ice or not" because man is a kind of animal that can think.

8. Does the Quantum Theory Recently Initiated by Hodgkin and Other British Academics Show That the Basic Marxist Principle Should Be Replaced by the Philosophical Idea Advocating That the Universe "Evolved Out of Nothing"?

Hodgkin and others initiated a quantum theory on the creation of the universe with the aim of probing the development of the universe in the very early period. Because the universe had an extremely small radius at that time the influence of the quantum [theory] was very important. Therefore, Hodgkin and his collaborators used the quantum gravitational theory to explore the universe in the very early period in an attempt to link it with the explosively expanding universe theory in the later period. However, if they applied the theory of path integration [lu jing ji fen 6424 1777 4480 0433] from the standard theory of quantum field they would have to introduce an initial condition. And to avoid introducing an unclear initial condition they converted time into an imaginary axis by making  $t$  equal to  $i\tau$ . Thus, the integral domain [ji fen qu yu 4480 0433 0575 1008]  $C$  in the path integral equation may be taken as a /compact/ assemblage [jin zhi de ji he 4868 5268 4104 7162 0678]. That is to say, the time here /is no longer real time/ but



is /imaginary time/. (Footnote 9) (Time is always real. If time is placed in a complex number plane the real or physical time is the real axis on the complex number plane. Sometimes, the circuit along the real axis on the complex number plane can be replaced by the circuit on the imaginary axis, which means the introduction of imaginary time. The introduction of imaginary time in mathematics is sometimes convenient but this does not mean that real or physical time can be imaginary. In his new theory Hodgkin introduced an important hypothesis, that is, he held that real and physical time can be imaginary. This is a question worth exploring.) Moreover, imaginary time /may take a certain closed circuit/ in its strike [zou xiang 6382 0686]. To date, Hodgkin and others have only studied a toy-like model. They have neither succeeded in linking their theory with the explosively expanding universe theory, nor have they made any forecasts on their observations and experiments. For this reason, at most this theory can be regarded as still at a trial stage. There is no question of any real achievements. However, from the mathematical solution of this model some workers in this field note that the universe in imaginary time can be linked with the universe in real time by analytic extension and that, because the integral domain is a compact assemblage, the universe in this imaginary time will simply be /nothing/. This means that time may have a beginning, namely, that the universe has grown out of nothing. That is why some people have elaborated on this "latest achievement" as if it supported the philosophical concept that "something has grown out of nothing." In the history of philosophy this concept has always been regarded as an important concept of idealist philosophy.

The problem is that, although Hodgkin is an outstanding astronomer, the quantum theory on the creation of the universe, which he initiated, is only one of many proposals. At many international meetings this theory was usually occasionally mentioned because it did not produce any interesting observational results. In terms of concepts the Hodgkin theory also leaves much room to be desired. First, Hodgkin and others introduced a physical condition of imaginary time but imaginary time is not an observable amount in physics. Some people say that this imaginary time can be turned into real time by analytic extension, so we can measure real time. But this does not show that imaginary time can be measured. Therefore, it remains quite doubtful whether the physical condition in imaginary time is a real physical condition. At least this can only be imagined in some people's minds, but has not been scientifically proved. In the study of particle theory there are indeed some workers studying the quantum field theory by converting it into Euclid's space. (Footnote 10) (Euclid's space refers to a space obtained by changing the time in Hermann Minkowski's space into imaginary time.) This is only aimed at simplifying mathematical problems and proving that the research conclusions from Euclid's space can be moved to Minkowski's space. (Footnote 11) (Minkowski's space is the four-dimensional space in the restricted theory of relativity. Where the gravitational force is non-existent or very weak Minkowski's space refers to the four-dimensional space often discussed in ordinary physics.) However, this does not mean that the quantum field theory in Euclid's space is a real physical condition. Second, Hodgkin and others have only made a certain toy-like model which is not a practical one. Research experience in theoretical physics shows that turning from a toy-like model to a practical one is not a simple thing. People often



meet with difficulties at a certain link and suffer setbacks. From a practical model to a theory verified by experiments and observations there is still a long way to go. The theory proposed by Hodgkin and others is still far from becoming a scientific achievement. At most it contains some new ideas. For this reason it is actually without a scientific basis to say that this theory shows that the universe is probably like what Lao Zi advocated, that the "way of nature produces matter" or that "something grows out of nothing." In the past some natural dialectics workers hurriedly quoted some "latest achievements" in science and, regardless of whether these "latest achievements" have really been scientifically proved or not, hastily announced that these achievements have once again proved dialectical materialism. Now some workers in natural science again make similar mistakes. The difference is that they want to draw a conclusion that was considered idealistic in the history of philosophy!

9. In the Study of Modern Cosmology Had People Further Explored Cosmology Before the Birth of the Big Bang Theory?

Professor Weinberg, Nobel prize winner and author of a treatise and a popular pamphlet on the explosively expanding universe theory, explicitly wrote in his books: "It can be assumed that the universe is undergoing a vibration, its contraction period and expanding period forever alternating with each other." He also said: "Some day we will be able to detect the remains of the previous cycles in the history of the universe and this is not totally impossible." (Footnote 12) (S. Weinberg: "Gravitational Theory and Cosmology," Science Publishing House, 1980 Edition, pp 698-699) In the study of modern cosmology some researchers are working according to this idea.

Some other researchers are trying to change Einstein's gravitational theory in an effort to overcome once and for all the difficulties posed by singular points and to establish a new cosmic theory from this new gravitational theory. Many academics at home and abroad are engaging in research work from various aspects along this direction.

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## LENIN'S THEORY OF REFLECTION AND PIAGET'S GENETIC EPISTEMOLOGY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 87 pp 18-27

[Article by Zhao Biru [6392 3880 1172]; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] Abstract: In recent years, some people have tried to negate Lenin's theory of reflection by picking up some concepts from the genetic epistemology of Jean Piaget, a Swiss psychologist. This article holds that this issue is an essential one involving Marxist philosophy. The article is divided into four parts: 1) A brief account of the shaping process and basic concepts of Piaget's genetic epistemology. The author points out: The purpose of genetic epistemology is to study the origin of all kinds of knowledge, and the criticism against Lenin based on genetic epistemology, complaining that his theory of reflection fails to pay attention to the origin of knowledge, does not hold water. 2) The author points out that Piaget has set store by the study of the relationship between psychology and philosophy, which is of reference value to the upholding and development of Lenin's theory of reflection. To quite a large extent, however, Piaget's genetic epistemology falls in the realm of psychology. An interpretation of epistemology as a whole, in the light of Piaget's psychological theory, will inevitably result in a psychologically orientated epistemology. 3) The author expounds the view that Lenin's theory of reflection is a dynamic dialectical materialist theory of reflection that is directly antagonistic to mechanical materialism. 4) This is an exposition of the view that Lenin's theory of reflection is founded on the inheritance and development of the basic principles of Marx and Engels' epistemology. The author points out that it will be a misunderstanding of Lenin's theory of reflection if one regards the formula of practice-cognition (perceptual and rational)-practice as a "linear mode of cognition." The concluding part talks about Piaget's understanding of Lenin's theory of reflection. [end abstract]

In the past few years, some people in Chinese academic and theoretical circles have held a view that Lenin's theory of reflection, in summing up the process of cognition as a process of reflection, "has made an extrapolation of the mechanical materialist determinism"; "this is not a dialectical and vivid understanding of the process of cognition, therefore it is necessary to 'restudy' the theory of reflection." (Footnote 1) (See ZHIXUE YANJIU, No 4, 1986, editors' notes for the article "A Restudy of Epistemology" by

Wang Zhenwu) Some who hold this opinion have based their view on certain concepts of Piaget's epistemology (Jean Piaget, 1896-1980, was a well known Swiss psychologist). This is an essential issue involving Marxist philosophy. Actually, how can we correctly understand Lenin's theory of reflection and Piaget's epistemology and the relations between them? In this thesis, I would like to present some of my preliminary ideas through a philosophical approach within the field of psychology.

## I

To have a clear picture of the issue, we must first briefly explain Piaget's genetic epistemology and its basis—genetic psychology.

Piaget was the founder of the Geneva school of genetic psychology. He studied the origin and development of child intelligence, and his main topic of study was to find out the cognition mechanism hidden behind children's behavior, as well as the process in which all the external characteristics of cognition arise and develop.

In the 1920's, Piaget concentrated his studies on the language and thought of children. He held that the phenomenon of socialization is a decisive factor in the form of children's logical thinking and its development. At the very beginning, the child's thinking is characterized by egocentricity. And his socialization process unfolds under the pressure exerted on him by his social environment and during his intercourse with adults.

Since the 1930's, Piaget was interested in the internal logics of psychological development (the theory of thought structure). From a biological perspective he put forth the concept of intellectual operation [zhi hui yun yan 2535 1979 6663 3348]. In his opinion, intelligence means adaptation; the occurrence and functions of intelligence are accomplished in the course of the individual's adaptation to the external environment; and each intellectual operation contains a certain cognitive mechanism. He applied the concepts of assimilation, coordination, balance, and patterning to his analysis of the cognitive structure. He regarded the interaction between the live system and the environment as two continuous and inseparable processes—assimilation and coordination. He regarded psychological development as the unity of assimilation and coordination. In his eyes, the constant interaction and contradiction between the processes of assimilation and coordination are the internal origin of the continuity of psychological development. Here assimilation and coordination denote the function of interaction between an organism and the external environment. In the case of assimilation, an organism's behavioral pattern is the absorption of something from the external environment and the introduction of new factors into the developing organism itself. In the case of coordination, the behavioral pattern is changed to suit the external environment. The organism's adaptation to the external environment is regarded as the effort made by the subject to maintain a balance between itself and the object. The shaping of the operation structure is the highest form of balance. Intelligence is in substance an operation system. And the balance between the organism and the environment is achieved with the help of the operation system. Viewed from

the genetic process, the operation system is a process derived from the interaction between the internal and external (for example, action to push or to separate objects)--an internalized action. In man's brain, the operation process is a simplified internal activity characterized by language activities. The so-called pattern denotes an organism's structural or behavioral form. It is the origin and kernel of the cognitive structure. In the behavioral field, the repetition tendency of action (the reproductive assimilation effect) gives rise to patterns. The pattern is the basis for mankind to recognize the environment and matters around him. The first patterns are those relating to mankind's innate instincts, namely, "hereditary patterns," for example, the actions of sucking, grasping, walking, and so on. All these are elementary behavioral patterns. Through the processes of assimilation, coordination, and balance, these patterns are to gradually develop into new patterns at higher and higher levels, such as the sensorimotor pattern, the presentation pattern, the concrete operation pattern, and the formal operation pattern. The study of the field of cognitive structure is the core of the whole theoretical system of Piaget.

After World War II, Piaget began to use mathematical logic as a tool in his study of thinking. During this period, his theory on the cognitive structure gradually took shape, and he began to shift the focus of his study to epistemology. On the basis of genetic psychology, Piaget founded genetic epistemology. The main objects of the study of genetic epistemology are the cognitive structure as the basis of cognition and the psychological mechanism for acquisition of new knowledge in the course of knowledge development. Piaget held that the study of the psychological origin of cognition is an indispensable part of epistemological analysis, and the psychological origin can only be understood by man when its root in the organism is revealed. He emphasized the special position of psychology in modern science as a whole. Although some individual sciences do not rely on psychology in terms of their methodologies and theoretical structures, Piaget believed that these structures can be mastered only through the organism's influence on the object, and only psychology can deal with such an activity in light of its development. He emphasized that the fundamental shortcoming of traditional epistemology lies in its neglect of the study and scientific proof of the development of mankind's knowledge. He held that epistemology is a cross-disciplinary science that needs the support of psychology, mathematics, logics, linguistics, and cybernetics; on the other hand, the study of epistemology is becoming, to a larger and larger extent, a task to be dealt with by scientists themselves, and it should no longer take mankind's knowledge as a whole as its object of study in general but should deal with specific epistemological problems that different sciences are facing. Piaget believed that there is only one criterion to distinguish science from philosophy, namely, the fact that philosophy takes knowledge as a whole as its object of study, while sciences deal with the study of special issues. Therefore, scientific epistemology should put forth issues in concrete terms and solve them in a concrete manner with the help of logic and mathematical and psychological analysis.

Piaget talked about his purpose in studying genetic epistemology in the book "Basic Principles of Genetic Epistemology." He said: "Traditional epistemology



only takes care of high-level cognition, in other words, some final outcome of cognition. For this reason, the purpose of genetic epistemology is to study the origin of various kinds of knowledge--starting from the study of cognition in its most elementary form, and following up with a study of the development of cognition at different higher levels, up to and including the level of scientific thinking." (Footnote 2) ("Basic Principles of Genetic Epistemology," Commercial Press, 1981 edition, p 17) In the discussion of epistemology in Chinese academic and theoretical circles, authors of some theses, without making a specific analysis, criticized Lenin's theory of reflection by quoting the above comment made by Piaget on the traditional epistemology. They held that the theoretical system of Lenin's theory of reflection has a shortcoming because it only takes care of cognition at higher levels and some final outcome of the cognition process but overlooks the origin of knowledge. Is this complaint justified? Let us make a concrete analysis.

Marxist classical writers analyzed, pondered, and understood issues based on their view of historical development. Marx regarded man's mentality and feeling as historical products. He said: "The five senses are the products of all the past history of the world." (Footnote 3) ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 42, p 126) Talking about the science of thinking, Engels said: "The science of thinking, like all other sciences, is a historical science, a science concerning the historical development of man's thinking." (Footnote 4) ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 20, p 382) Lenin inherited and developed the views of Marx and Engels, who analyzed and understood issues in light of their historical development. Based on the results of studies in the natural sciences, Lenin made a series of concise and brilliant expositions of the origin and development of mentality and ideology. He pointed out: "Natural science definitely maintains that the earth existed a long time before mankind or any other creature came to exist on it." During that period, there were only inorganic materials (lifeless materials) in nature. "Organic materials are something which came later, the products of long development. In other words, there was nothing with intelligence at that time." (Footnote 5) ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 14, p 66) Materials with life, at a higher stage of development gave birth to the human brain, which can think. Lenin attached great importance to source materials concerning the scientific study of the origin of psychology and ideology. When defining the "realm of knowledge which forms epistemology and dialectics," Lenin maintained that what should first be included are the history of philosophy, the history of various branches of science, and, of course, the history of psychology. What should also be included are the history of development of child intelligence and the history of animal intelligence--the prehistory of the origin of human thinking and the initial stage of thinking that can be observed during man's childhood. Lenin believed that the study of this embryonic form and stage of thinking is very important in understanding the highest and most developed form and stage of thinking, because in such a way, one can comprehensively analyze and explore the whole process from the sprouting to the full development of thinking. For this purpose, he also included the history of language, psychology, as well as sense organ physiology as part of the studies of epistemology and dialectics. Thus it can be seen that it does tally with the facts if one complains that

the theoretical system of Lenin's theory of reflection overlooks the origin of knowledge or the birth and development of knowledge. Of course, what we mean by the realm of knowledge which forms epistemology and dialectics does not completely equal epistemology and dialectics themselves. In fact, we mean that one must absorb knowledge from this realm of knowledge when studying and developing epistemology and dialectics, and this realm of knowledge should be regarded as a source from which one can draw something to enrich epistemology and dialectics. Lenin's purpose in counting these branches of science as part of the realm of knowledge forming epistemology and dialectics was to interpret the human brain's psychological and ideological activity or process of reflecting the external world as an activity or process which is subordinate to the general laws of dialectics.

The above realm of knowledge forming epistemology and dialectics was put forth by Lenin more than 60 years ago. Since then, in the wake of the rapid development of mankind's thoughts, culture, and natural sciences, the above realm of knowledge has been constantly expanded and has had its contents enriched daily. For example, cerebral science (especially the theory of high-level neural activity), biophysics, biochemistry, cybernetics, information theory, system theory, artificial intelligence, and other new branches of science should also be included in the realm of knowledge forming epistemology and dialectics. In studying all these new disciplines, we are taking them as sources of knowledge which can be drawn on to enrich and develop Lenin's theory of reflection. However, it is obviously not advisable to replace Marxist-Leninist epistemology and dialectics with any of these disciplines and to substitute the philosophical approach with specific sciences.

Lenin wrote on epistemology: "With regard to epistemology and other fields of science alike, we should think dialectically, in other words, we must not think that our knowledge is immutable." (Footnote 6) ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 14, p 98) Therefore, Lenin's theory of reflection is not a frozen and closed theoretical system. The enrichment and development of this system demand the constant assimilation and transformation of all new and valuable things in mankind's thoughts and culture, and the establishment of close ties between it and all sciences concerning nature, society, and thinking, which are ever developing, including reasonable ingredients of Piaget's genetic epistemology.

## II

What scientific value can Piaget's genetic epistemology offer to help enrich and develop Lenin's theory of reflection?

In terms of his philosophical thinking, Piaget was a follower of positivism in his early years. But his understanding of some issues during his later years was close to materialist dialectics since he always held to the materialist stand that the object does not exist independently of the subject, when dealing with the interaction between the subject and the object in his concrete research; at the same time, he took the principle of development as his guiding ideology; and, especially during the final stage of his

life, conducted a special research project on the "elementary form of dialectics" from a point of view of the psychology of thought. From genetic psychology to genetic epistemology, Piaget engaged in academic research for more than 60 years. During this long period, he studied a great deal in the fields of knowledge that Lenin defined as forming epistemology and dialectics, such as the history of science, the history of development of child intelligence, the history of language, psychology, and so on. Starting from genetic psychology, he conducted a lot of research in the interrelations between thought psychology and child psychology, psychology and logics, and in the interrelation between psychology and epistemology. Through long observation and experiments, he accumulated rich scientific data (despite some defects in his interpretation) and made contributions to these fields of knowledge. It is self-evident that the scientific and rational ingredients of Piaget's psychological theoretical system can be used for reference in the study of the dialectic materialist epistemology--Lenin's theory of reflection, because the results of Piaget's research in genetic psychology are close to the basic principles of the theory of reflection in certain aspects. For example, the meaning of the concepts of assimilation and internalization in genetic psychology are, to a certain extent, close to the meaning of the concept of "transformation" that is used in the theory of reflection which states that "the direct link between consciousness and the external world is the transformation from the external stimulus to the conscious fact" (Footnote 7) ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 14, p 40); and genetic psychology's emphasizing the function of behavior (activity) in the cognition process is, in a certain sense, similar to the reflection theory's emphasizing the function of activity (practice) in the cognition process. Piaget's scientific system is a thought characterized by the genetic circle [fa sheng de yuan quan 4099 3932 4104 0955 0946] (the ringlike system of science). It is similar to Lenin's idea that "science is the circle of circles [yuan quan de yuan quan 0955 0946 4104 0955 0946]." (Footnote 8) ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 251) Therefore, facts that were verified by Piaget's psychological research can be used as scientific explanations and evidence to support Lenin's philosophical views.

While acknowledging the rational ingredients of Piaget's theory, we must not ignore the fact that it is subject to some limitations and various shortcomings. Piaget based his study of the origin and development of knowledge (intelligence and thinking) on the theory of biology and on his interpretation of the interaction between assimilation and coordination as a development process. His guiding ideology was the individual's adaptation to environment rather than the creation of social history. Piaget wrote on the origin of knowledge: "Knowledge originates neither from a subject with self-consciousness nor from an object which has taken shape (as the subject views it) and which will stamp itself on the subject. Knowledge originates instead from the interaction between the subject and the object which occurs in between the subject and the object, therefore it embodies both the subject and the object." (Footnote 9) ("Basic Principles of Genetic Epistemology," Commercial Press, 1981 edition, p 21) Under this circumstance, Piaget explained the interrelations between subject and object and between the organism and environment based on a binomial pattern [er xiang tu shi 0059 7309 0956 1709], because the cognition process was interpreted as the



relations or links (interaction) that are fully displayed by the two elements. However, this binomial pattern is not applicable to the explanation of social history because social history is not a set of relations composed of only two elements but of three elements, namely, the subject, the means, and the object. And it is Lenin's theory of reflection that explains the creation of social history based on the relations between three elements and with a trinomial pattern [san xiang tu shi 0005 7309 0956 1709]. This appears to be the fundamental difference of principle between Piaget's genetic epistemology and Lenin's theory of reflection. By the way, what must also be emphasized is that the activities acting as the motive force system for the interaction between the subject and the object that are mentioned in genetic epistemology are merely the activities of individuals (mainly children) as the object of study of genetic psychology; while the main content of the activities of mankind to create history is people's social practice, mainly their productive activities. Lenin held that "the points of view on life and practice should be the first basic points of view of epistemology." (Footnote 10) ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 14, p 142) Thus it can be seen that there is an essential distinction between the individual's activities mentioned by genetic epistemology and the social practice that Lenin's theory of reflection refers to--these two things just cannot be mixed together. Marxist theory of practice is founded on the interpretation of social life and the materialist views derived from the understanding of the objective developmental laws of social life. Therefore, the category of practice falls into the category of historical materialism and bears the characteristics of social history. Meanwhile, Piaget's concept of activity, which was put forth in a biological perspective, is used to interpret the individual's activities, namely, the interaction between the subject (the individual) and the object. The kernel of this concept lies in the elaboration of the individual's adaptation to environment, and it shows a certain degree of naturalist coloring. Some scholars in our academic and theoretical circles who fail to notice these limitations of Piaget's concept of activity have proposed the idea that "the Marxist epistemology should enrich itself by assimilating the concept of activity from genetic epistemology." (Footnote 11) (Lei Yongsheng: "The Contributions and Shortcomings of Genetic Epistemology," see SHEHUI KEXUE JIKAN [JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES], No 6, 1985) Apparently they have failed to consider the issue very carefully before proposing the idea. We can be sure that interpreting issues concerning epistemology with Piaget's concept of activity will inevitably result in a psychologically oriented epistemology.

Then what about the positions of Piaget's genetic epistemology and Lenin's theory of reflection in the whole theoretical system of epistemology and what about their interrelations? This question, I think, has been well answered, in light of Piaget's own relevant exposition, by Comrade Ni Liansheng in the "Translator's Foreword" of the translated edition of Piaget's famous book "Structuralism." Comrade Ni Liansheng said: "Epistemology that genetic epistemology refers to can only be scientific epistemology rather than philosophical epistemology. It is the overture to philosophical epistemology but not the (philosophical) epistemology in its general sense." (Footnote 12) ("Structuralism," Commercial Press, 1986 edition, pp 1-2) Then what is scientific epistemology? Piaget held that



the purpose of genetic scientific epistemology is to reveal the psychological structure hidden behind the making of scientific concepts and thus provide an answer to the question on science in epistemological terms. He himself made the following explanation on the epistemology of psychology for individual branches of science: "Epistemology of psychology deals with the questions of how psychologists think, what methods psychologists use, and how they establish psychology. In other words, it involves the question of how psychology is built up." And epistemology of logic, epistemology of mathematics, and epistemology of other branches of science can be interpreted by an analogy of this. Evidently this is the essential distinction between the position of Piaget's genetic epistemology and that of Lenin's theory of reflection in the theoretical system of epistemology as a whole. The link and relationship between them are those between the genetic epistemology of individual branches of science (such as psychology, logic, physiology, and mathematics) and the epistemology of philosophy in its general sense, or, to put it briefly, those between the particular and the general. As everybody knows, each branch of science has its specific object of study, and each deals with a certain field of knowledge—the particular forms of movement, particular relations, and laws of this field. With genetic epistemology as his starting point and the logic-mathematics analytical method and the psychological developmental method as his tools, Piaget worked at specific epistemological issues arising from these branches of science. Lenin's theory of reflection is a component part of materialist dialectics. It applies materialist dialectics to the study of the nature and form of reflection, the study of the general rules governing the reflection by the human brain of the movement and development of the external world in the interaction between the subject and the object or in the course of activities (mainly the activities of practice and the laboring and productive activities); the study of the general rules governing the reflection by the human brain of the intrinsic links and relations between different systems and structures of the external world; and the study of the general rules governing the course of cognition "from vivid perception to abstract thinking and then from abstract thinking to practice." (Footnote 13) ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 181) Therefore, in our study of questions on epistemology, Lenin's theory of reflection is the guiding ideology for our world outlook and methodology, and Piaget's genetic epistemology an object of scientific study. The relationship between them is not mutually substitutive but mutually complementary.

### III

In discussion on the question of epistemology unfolding in the Chinese academic and theoretical circles, some writers have cited Piaget's concept of knowledge structure (intelligence structure) to challenge the concept of reflection presented by Lenin's theory of reflection. They have declared that Lenin's concept must be entirely negated. Here I would like to quote and make a specific analysis of the views of Comrades Wang Zhenwu and Qiu Renzong.

In his article "A Restudy of the Definition of Cognition," Comrade Wang Zhenwu said: "The current definition of cognition is 'the human brain's

reflection of the objective world.' (See "Ci Hai", Volume of Philosophy, p 58) The limitations of this definition have become more and more obvious as time goes by. First, with regard to the content of this definition, it merely reveals the objectivity of cognition, but ignores the role of cognition as a subject, its nature as a medium, its purpose, and its creativity. Second, methodologically speaking, this definition is based on a (black-box concept) [hei xiang guan dian 7815 4630 6034 7820]. It only reveals the macroscopic static result of cognition but fails to display the microscopic mechanism of the origin and development of cognition. Third, in principle, this is the definition of cognition presented by mechanical materialism. Therefore it is necessary to redefine the term cognition." (Footnote 14) (Wang Zhenwu: "A Restudy of the Definition of Cognition," see ZHEXUE YANJIU, No 4, 1986) Wang also said: "The concept of reflection cannot reveal the true process of mankind's cognition. Therefore it is necessary to replace this concept with a new one. This is a development trend of epistemology in modern times. Swiss psychologist Piaget has already done a great deal of work in this area." (Footnote 15) (Wang Zhenwu: Ibid.) When discussing Piaget's view on the substantive question of cognition, he analyzed Piaget's concept on the subject's knowledge structure. It was in highly appreciating this concept of intellectual structure that Comrade Wang Zhenwu negated the concept of reflection.

In his article "A Three-Dimensional Network Mode of Cognition," Comrade Qiu Renzong said: "How does knowledge arise from practice? Usually we summarize this process as 'reflection.' However, after careful consideration, we discover that this term is inappropriate, because it implies: 1) Man as the subject of cognition gets to know the object passively, and cognition is a one-way process from the object to the subject; and 2) there is no structure within the subject of cognition. 'Reflection' is a term borrowed from mechanical materialism and is completely consistent with Locke's statement: 'The human mind is but a white board.'" (Footnote 16) ("A Three-Dimensional Network Mode of Cognition," see BAIKE ZHISHI [ENCYCLOPEDIA KNOWLEDGE], No 9, 1985) Here Comrade Qiu Renzong negated the concept of reflection by comparing it with Piaget's concept on intellectual structure. When talking about Piaget's concept on intellectual structure, he said: "The role of man's intellectual structure in the cognition process can be summarized with the term 'building' [jian gou 1696 2845]. Building is different from photographing or reproducing, as it reflects the dynamic feature of the subject. This dynamic feature can help mankind to understand the external world more thoroughly, but can also make us deviate far from it." (Footnote 17) (Ibid.)

Thus it is obvious that it is under the "inspiration" of genetic epistemology that the above two comrades have negated the concept of reflection. Both unanimously regard the concept of reflection as a mechanical materialist concept, and the limitations and shortcomings of the concept of reflection that they have separately enumerated are basically the same. In their eyes, Piaget's concept of intellectual structure is far superior to the concept of reflection. Comments on Piaget's concept have been made above and I am not going to repeat them. Now I would like to draw the readers' attention to an analysis of the views based on which Comrades Wang Zhenwu and Qiu Renzong negated the concept of reflection, so as to find out whether their views are justified.

As everybody knows, the concept of reflection applies to both the theoretical systems of mechanical materialism (that is, metaphysical materialism) and dialectical materialism, and the substantive distinction between these two theoretical systems in this respect lies in the application of dialectics to the theory of reflection. Lenin pointed out: "The fundamental defect of metaphysical materialism is that it cannot apply dialectics to the theory of reflection and to the process and development of cognition." (Footnote 18) ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 411) In the eyes of metaphysical materialists, reflection is the negative traces that the mechanical influence of matters leave in the human brain. For example, Diderot directly compared the brain to a piece of wax on which matter leaves its traces. But in the eyes of dialectic materialists, reflection is the result of interaction between the subject and the external world. Reflection is not a static image resulting from the passive reception of the mechanical influence of matter but the dynamic activity or process conducted by the subject. During this dynamic activity or process, the image of the object turns out to be more and more consistent with what the object it reflects actually is, in other words, it is getting closer and closer to truth. Comrades Wang Zhenwu and Qiu Renzong have taken a negative attitude toward the concept of reflection. But they have never drawn a clear demarcation line between the concept of reflection mentioned in the mechanical materialist theory of reflection and that mentioned in the dialectic materialist theory of reflection. Furthermore, in light of the context of their articles, they have in fact criticized the concept of reflection adopted by Lenin's theory of reflection. But Lenin's theory of reflection, as a dynamic dialectical materialist theory of reflection, is directly antagonistic to the mechanical materialist theory of reflection. And the limitations and shortcomings that were enumerated by Comrades Wang Zhenwu and Qiu Renzong should be exclusively attributed to the mechanical materialist theory of reflection and are incompatible with Lenin's theory of reflection at all, since the latter has the following dialectical and dynamic features:

#### 1. THE DIALECTICAL UNITY BETWEEN THE BRAIN'S FUNCTIONS AND THE REFLECTION OF THE EXTERNAL WORLD.

The definition—"cognition is 'the human brain's reflection of the objective world'"--that has been criticized by Comrade Wang Zhenwu is made in light of the basic principle of the theory of reflection put forth by Lenin which maintains that spirit "is a function of the human brain and the reflection of the external world." (Footnote 19) ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 14, p 84) This statement by Lenin has two meanings which embody dialectical unity. On the one hand, the "function of the brain" is a concept of ontology: In terms of their origin, spirit (mentality, consciousness, and idea) is linked with the brain, it arises in the wake of the emergence of the brain as an organ effecting the interaction between the subject and the object, and the activity or process conducted by the brain is the fundamental form of the existence of spirit. On the other hand, the "reflection of the external world" is a concept of epistemology (that is, the theory of reflection): In terms of the source of its content, spirit is linked with the external world and is the reflection of the external world. From vivid perception to abstract thinking, and then from abstract thinking to practice--the whole



process of cognition advances and develops through the negotiation of negation and through dialectical transformation, from a simple state to a complicated one, from a lower level to a higher level, from quantitative change to qualitative change, and from the death of the old to the birth of the new. Therefore, in analyzing the issue concerning the category of reflection and image, we must understand them in light of the dialectical unity of ontology and epistemology. We must be aware that once the brain's function is separated from the reflection of the external world, not only will the brain be unable to become the special master of the moving and developing knowledge, but the vigorous vitality of the cognition process will vanish. It is wrong to regard the definition that "cognition is 'the human brain's reflection of the objective world'" as a "mechanical materialist definition" and it is also wrong to interpret the term reflection as a "term borrowed from mechanical materialism." It appears that the root of the error lies in the failure to take into account the extremely complicated activity of the brain's function which forms a dialectical unity with the reflection of the external world.

## 2. THE DIALECTICAL UNITY BETWEEN THE REFLECTION OF THE EXTERNAL WORLD AND PRACTICE.

In Lenin's theory of reflection, the term reflection does not carry the same meaning as Comrade Qiu Renzong defined: "Man as the subject exercising cognition gets to know the object passively, and cognition is a one-way process from the object to the subject." Instead it means that cognition, as a form of subjective reflection of the object, is accomplished in the course of activity, namely, in the interaction (two-way process) between subject and object. The reflection of the external world in the human brain is dialectically unified with man's external activities or, to put it more precisely, man's practice in transforming the external world. Activity is a process in which is achieved the mutual transformation between the subject and the object, namely, the "man's becoming an object" and the "object's becoming a subject" (Footnote 20) ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 92), while the process of reflection is a form of expression for this mutual transformation. The reflection of the external world which starts from man's activities arises, changes, and develops in the course of man's activities, and "man's intelligence develops while man is learning how to change nature." (Footnote 21) ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 20, p 574) Man "is changing his own nature while he is working to change nature." (Footnote 22) ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 202) Activities (practical activities) are the criteria to verify whether the image--the result of the process of reflection of the external world--is true or false (whether it consists with truth). In brief, the reflection of the external world is conditioned by activities. This is one side of the matter. And the other side of the matter is that "man creates an objective picture of the world. His activities are to change the external reality and eliminate its regularity...." (Footnote 23) ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 235) Under these circumstances, as an essential element of the activity, the reflection of the external world, namely, the motive, purpose, and plan of the activity, takes a dynamic part in and regulates the activity. The concept (idea) that regards purpose as a result of the activity is a phenomenon of advance



reflection [chao qian fan ying 6389 0467 0646 2503], which emerges and develops in the course of cognition. As the objective image of the objective world, purpose and plan maintain a function regulating the activity and ensuring that it will be fully consistent with its object, means, and conditions. In consequence, the object of activity is transformed into a product. While being conditioned by the activity, the reflection of the external world in its turn conditions the activity. Cognition, as the human brain's reflection of the external world, always shows itself as a planned purposeful dynamic process. Therefore, when discussing the concepts of reflection and image in the light of the dialectical materialist theory of reflection, we must consider them together with activity, otherwise we will inevitably be misled to a metaphysical conclusion.

### 3. THE DIALECTICAL UNITY OF SUBJECTIVE THINGS AND OBJECTIVE THINGS IN THE PROCESS OF REFLECTION.

The interpretation of knowledge as "the subjective image of the objective world or the world itself" (Footnote 24) ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 14, p 116) has revealed the subjectivity as well as the objectivity of the content of knowledge. What is the subjectivity of knowledge? The subjectivity of knowledge means, first of all, that knowledge belongs to the subject, that is, man. Knowledge is the result of a reflection process conducted by the subject, that is, the human brain that shows personality and adopts a certain subjective attitude (feelings) toward the object in the objective world. Knowledge is shaped and develops in the course of man's practical and theoretical activities and his intercourse with others. Knowledge can be nothing but a subjective image of the objective world, and it always bears the stamp of subjectivity. Knowledge that does not belong to anybody does not exist at all. Regarding this point, Lenin said: "Everybody knows what man's feeling is. Any feeling which is separated from man and arose before the birth of mankind is nothing but a nonsense, an ossified abstract concept, or an idealist fallacy." (Footnote 25) ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 14, p 237) The subjectivity of a psychological image does not rule out its objectivity. In Lenin's eyes, the existence of the objective truth implies that man's idea, thinking, and knowledge "contain something that is independent of the subject, man, and mankind." (Footnote 26) ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 14, p 120) In analyzing the interrelations between the absolute truth and the relative truth, Lenin profoundly revealed the extremely complicated dialectical rules governing objective and subjective things in psychological activity and consciousness. He wrote: "In nature, human beings' thinking can provide and is providing us with the absolute truth formed by the summation of relative truths. Every development stage of science adds some new things to the summation of the absolute truth. But the truth of every scientific principle has its own relative boundary which may extend or shrink from time to time as man's knowledge is growing." (Footnote 27) ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 14, p 134)

#### 4. THE DIALECTICAL UNITY OF KNOWLEDGE, SENTIMENT, AND WILL IN THE PROCESS OF REFLECTION.

Idea, spirit, mentality, and consciousness are the reflection of the external world. Any idea, spirit, mentality, or consciousness transcending the external world does not exist at all. It is in light of the basic principles of Lenin's theory of reflection that the dialectical materialist psychology explains the nature of idea, spirit, mentality, and consciousness, their development course, and their functions; interprets them as different forms and levels of the human brain's subjective reflection of the objective reality; and proves with a great deal of experimental and research data that knowledge, feeling, and consciousness form a dialectical unity in the process of reflection. In understanding the external world and transforming it through his practical activities, man always takes different attitudes toward various objects and phenomena in the external world as well as toward the activities of others and himself, in light of his own world outlook and by judging whether they are in keeping with his or the society's needs; and he may have different experiences and make different appraisals (of these attitudes, experiences, and appraisals the dominant ones being: affirmation and negation, negativity and positivity, approval and objection, satisfaction and dissatisfaction, as well as the feelings that arise from the above, such as joy and sorrow, love and hatred, gratefulness and grievance, depression and excitement, respect and contempt, fondness and abhorrence, and so on). In psychology these attitudes, experiences, and appraisals are called sentiment and emotion. As a form of the reflection of the external world, sentiment is evoked by the reflected object. It is first determined by the features of the object and it is also determined by the personality of every man as the subject which takes shape in the course of development of social history (every man's internal psychological state which is different from that of others). Sentiment originates from knowledge and it emerges and develops based on the subject's knowledge of the object. There can be no sentiment transcending the subject's knowledge of the object. At the same time, sentiment in its turn also imposes some restrictions (positive or negative) on man's cognition. Lenin laid great emphasis on the positive role of sentiment in the process of cognition. He said: "Without man's sentiment, there can never be man's pursuit of truth." (Footnote 28) ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 20, p 255) Man's will is another form of reflection of the external world. It is a special expression of the subjective activity exclusively owned by man as a social being. When talking about man's action of transforming the external world, Lenin said: "The world will not satisfy man, so man makes up his mind to change the world with his own efforts." (Footnote 29) ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 229) Man's conscious activities are actuated by a certain motive originating from a certain need (material or spiritual) for objects or phenomena of the external world, and are conducted with a view to fulfilling a purpose that is put forth in accordance with this need. In these activities man always encounters various internal or external difficulties and obstacles. The so-called will is a kind of spiritual force or activity that man shows in conscientiously building up and controlling his mentality and consciousness, and in regulating and managing his own activities with a view to overcoming difficulties. In the process of reflection, knowledge, sentiment, and will form a dialectical

unity. Enthusiastic and rich sentiment is the motive force to support the strong will that is needed in overcoming all difficulties and obstacles on the way to truth, and the understanding of truth will be impossible without a strong will. Due to the extremely complicated contradictions between knowledge, sentiment, and will in the process of reflection, the whole process of cognition is full of emotional coloring and expression of will-power, and it displays a strong activity that is imbued with vitality.

##### 5: THE DIALECTICAL UNITY OF THE COGNITION PROCESS AND THE CREATION PROCESS.

Comrade Wang Zhenwu holds that the interpretation of cognition as the human brain's reflection of the objective world has ignored not only the subjectivity and purpose but also the creativity of cognition. His view is groundless. The dialectical materialist theory of reflection definitely does not overlook the creativity of cognition but attaches special importance to it. In quoting Hegel, Lenin wrote: "Man's consciousness not only reflects the objective world but creates it." (Footnote 30) ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 228) In substance he meant that reflection, as man sees it, is creative. Lenin also laid great emphasis on fantasy's role in the cognition process. He said: Fantasy "as an ability is extremely valuable. Some people think that only poets need fantasy. This is a groundless and stupid prejudice! Even mathematics needs fantasy--without it the invention of calculus would have been impossible." (Footnote 31) ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 282) He also said: "The idea of denying the fact that fantasy also plays a role in the development of the most precise sciences is absurd." (Footnote 32) ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 421) Fantasy as a psychological term denotes a form of expression of imagination. Imagination is a psychological process in which the human brain creates new images through analysis and synthesis, as well as abstraction and generalization, with the rich images (ideas) retained in memory as the stuff. For some new ideas that are created in the imagination process, one may not find their prototypes in the objective reality. For some other images that are the products of imagination, practice may verify that they will never come true. However, no matter how far these new images deviate from the reality and how odd they are, they have after all originated from the objective reality and remain a reflection of the external world, because after all they have been created through the psychological process of analysis, synthesis, abstraction, and generalization, with the images retained in memory as their stuff.

(To be continued)

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## **ESTABLISH A MACROECONOMIC MANAGEMENT SYSTEM WITH THE EMPHASIS ON INDIRECT CONTROL**

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 87 pp 28-31

[Article by Li Chengrui [2621 2052 3834]]

[Text] On strengthening and improving the direction of macroeconomic management Comrade Zhao Ziyang in the "Report on the Seventh 5-Year Plan" pointed out in principle that "state management of enterprises should gradually change from mainly direct control to mainly indirect control, establishing a new socialist macroeconomic management system." Centered in this overall direction we must clearly understand the following: Why must the state change from mainly direct control to mainly indirect control in its management of enterprises? What should the target model for the new socialist macroeconomic management be like? In establishing a new macroeconomic management system what conditions are necessary and what steps must be taken? Below I will discuss my views on these questions.

### **I**

Implementing mainly indirect control in the state's macroeconomic management of enterprises is a requirement of the planned commodity economy. The point of departure in a planned commodity economy is recognizing that enterprises are relatively independent commodity producers and operators and that enterprises must have the right to make their own decisions about operations and be responsible for their own profits and losses. In the former direct control system which mainly involved planning through directives, enterprises' major production and sales targets were stipulated by the state. Profits were handed over and losses were subsidized by the state. There was actually no such thing as enterprise decisionmaking power. Under this type of management system the enterprises were like beads on an abacus, being pushed and moved here and there. It was very difficult for them to bring into play their enthusiasm for developing production and pursuing economic benefits. The state in implementing indirect control in the macroeconomy, mainly involving guidance through material interests, has given enterprises much more decisionmaking power. Thus, it has been better able to motivate the enthusiasm of the enterprises and their staff and workers, bring into play the enterprises' vigor and promote the faster development of a planned commodity economy.

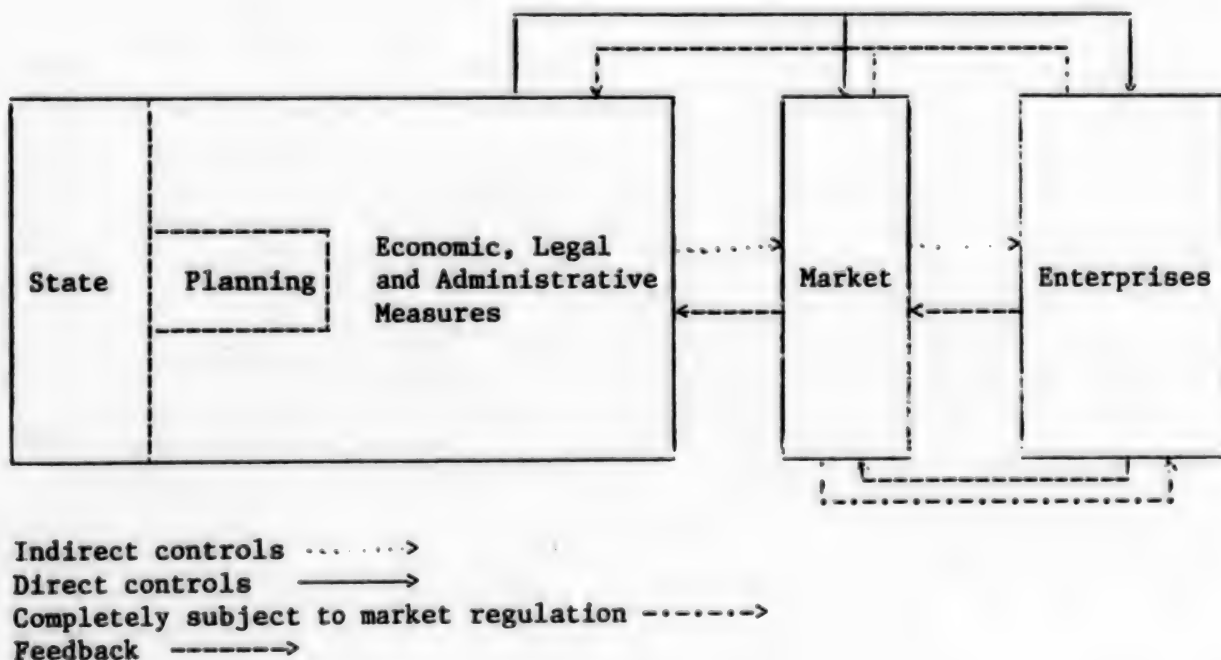


The state's indirect control of enterprises is realized through the medium of the market. The market, through changes in prices and other parameters, provides rapid signals to the thousands and thousands of enterprises, enabling them to readjust their own production and operations in a timely way and accord with the needs of the market. In this way, it is possible, within the limits of adjustment realizable through market forces, to promote the best deployment of funds, labor, technology and other production factors. The former situation in which production factors were deployed through administrative orders and thus did not accord with social demands, and economic benefits were low, can thus be changed.

If the state, in mainly using indirect controls for enterprises, uses the controls properly, it will be beneficial in realizing state planned targets. State plans cannot be so all-embracing and so specialized as to set down targets for all production activities in all enterprises, and are not conducive to flexible readjustment in accordance with changes in objective conditions. Thus, under conditions where there is direct control the results of implementing the plans may not reach the target stipulated originally. This is particularly true of targets aimed at improving economic results. Under the guidance of state planning mainly through economic policies and economic levers supplemented with necessary direct controls guiding enterprises can both make full use of market relationships to promote economic development and can avoid market blindness. This will be advantageous in maintaining the planned and proportional development of the national economy.

## II

In accordance with the demands of a planned commodity economy and proceeding from our nation's actual conditions I believe that the target model for our nation's new socialist macroeconomic management system can be generally represented by the following diagram:



In the above diagram the major line is that of indirect control. That is, the state controls the market and the market guides the enterprises. When it is said that the state controls the market, it means that the state has "power of guidance" over the market by regulating supply and demand, mainly through economic measures and market parameters. At the same time, the various direct controls that the state has over the market and enterprises are essentially supplementary measures. Apart from these, there are some economic activities which are completely regulated by the market and these are necessary supplements.

Actual economic life is extremely complex. The above diagram, in order to highlight the basic parts of the model makes several omissions. For example, in "State," the central and local levels have not been drawn in and neither have the comprehensive department and industrial management department levels; outside of "enterprises" the economic activities of residents as consumers have not been depicted (these also are subject to the guidance of the state through the market); foreign economic relations have also been omitted from the diagram.

From the above diagram we can see that overall macroeconomic management is based on state planning. The economic and social development plans formulated by the state should accord with the requirements of basic socialist economic laws and through improving technology and developing production, achieve the goal of improving the material and cultural lives of the vast masses of the people. They should accord with the requirements of the law of planned and proportional development, the law of value and other objective laws, do well in achieving a balance in terms of overall demand and supply volumes and their structures, and do well in arranging the major proportional relationships between consumption and accumulation, key investment and ordinary investment, economic construction and social development, and foreign borrowing and repayment. The overall national economic and social development plans should put the magnitude of value in first place, center on the comprehensive financial plans and international receipts and expenditure plans which reflect the whole picture of socioeconomic movement, and achieve a comprehensive balance in terms of financial, material and personnel strengths.

The above diagram shows that the state uses economic, legal and administrative measures to adjust and control national economic movement so that the targets set in state plans can be realized. Of these, economic measures which through the pivot of the market, use guidance planning through material interests to induce enterprises to fulfill planned targets, should be placed in a major position. Guidance planning should involve the close linking and use of planned targets, economic policies and economic levers. It requires that at the same time as formulating planned targets, it is also necessary to formulate a regulation plan involving economic policies and economic levers (financial, taxation, credit, interest rates, prices, etc.) which accord with the targets. Also these should be promulgated before enterprises decide on their own plans so that the enterprises will know what sort of benefits they can obtain in accordance with state requirements. Once this regulatory plan involving economic policies and economic levers is promulgated it must

be guaranteed. In the past there were many examples of this being done well in agricultural planning and the anticipated results were realized. There were also examples where, because planned targets and economic levers were not well combined or because after promulgation, the commitments were not honored, the farmers felt "if we plant what the government says to plant we always end up incurring losses" and negative effects resulted. We should summarize past experiences and master the skills of utilizing guidance planning. Apart from this, ideological education and issuing information are important methods of indirect control and should be paid more attention.

The above diagram shows that the state, through macroeconomic management, must appropriately use legal measures and necessary administrative measures. Together with these planning must retain some direct plans. Economic relationships and economic activities require the use of laws to set down standards. Because the market mechanism has, in the end, a certain blindness, an amount of administrative intervention is necessary. Under the conditions of our nation's planned commodity economy, in deploying the means of production, sometimes market forces cannot realize it, or it is not economical. For example, in building a large modern enterprise billions of yuan or even tens of billion yuan are necessary. A single province, autonomous region, directly administered city or large-scale enterprise group would find great difficulty in arranging funds of such magnitude and the construction and organizational abilities. However with the state centralizing financial and material strengths in order to carry out key construction it can quite quickly improve the industrial structure and obtain economic results on a reasonably good scale. This is also necessary in guaranteeing the sustained, stable and coordinated development of the national economy.

In the above model the foremost requirement is state control of the market. If the state cannot control the market then we cannot even talk about the market guiding enterprises. State control of the market also requires the establishment of a limited buyer's market where total supply is a little greater than total demand. If total market demand exceeds total supply it will be difficult to bring into play the mechanism by which the state controls the market and the market guides the enterprises. When total demand is far greater than total supply the state will be busy "putting out fires" all the time and will be left in a passive position. Thereby it will lose its ability to control the market. The results will be: 1) It will lead to repeated price rises for commodities and inflation, thereby leading to chaos in market signals. This not only will prevent guidance being given to enterprises but will also lead to some enterprises engaging in speculation and following evil ways. 2) Market supply will not accord with demand and commodities in the market will be in a situation where "the emperor's daughter has no problem finding someone to marry." Thus, it will be difficult to prompt enterprises to improve their operational management, to adopt advanced technology and to raise product quality. Also, it will not be possible to impel national economic development to change from "speed-type" to "results-type." 3) Shortages of goods and materials in the market will likely lead to the government expanding the scope of its direct controls and reducing the scope of its indirect controls. Thereby it will be



difficult to realize or maintain the above-mentioned target model. Thus, establishing a macroeconomic management system which mainly involves indirect controls cannot be separated from the establishment of a limited buyer's market.

A socialist macroeconomic management system which mainly involves indirect controls is different both in terms of nature and results from a capitalist nation's use of economic measures to intervene in national economic movement. In a socialist commodity economy it is not possible to completely allow things to be spontaneously regulated by the market. Rather, with the guidance of state planning the market must serve fixed development goals. At the same time, the perfection of the socialist market system must be achieved through a long development process. This determines that economic regulation cannot be realized completely through the market. The state must have the power of direct control over some economic activities. Over many years capitalist countries have accumulated rich experiences in macroeconomic management. We must study these and draw in all beneficial things. We should not and cannot just blindly copy them.

### III

Establishing a new socialist macroeconomic management system like the other tasks in economic structural reforms is not something which can be achieved in one step. It needs certain conditions and must pass through a gradual course of development.

Implementing macroeconomic management which mainly involves indirect controls has the two basic conditions of enterprises having decisionmaking power and being responsible for their own profits and losses and the overall improvement of the market system. Any targets set by the state for enterprises through indirect controls can only be realized through the internal mechanisms of enterprises. Only when enterprises have decisionmaking power, are responsible for their own profits and losses and have self-restraining mechanisms can they respond in a flexible way to economic levers. In the last few years in the matter of investment in fixed assets we have changed from financial allocation to bank credit. We have twice raised the interest rate for credit, but we have been unable to effectively restrain the rise in demand by state-owned enterprises for fixed asset investment credit. Although construction tax and the energy and communications key construction fund levy has played some role in readjusting the economic structure and strengthening key construction, they have not had a notable effect in containing the overall scale of investment. Although the bonus tax and wage regulation tax which have been levied in order to control the excessive growth in consumption funds have resulted in a reduction in bonuses, subsidies and overtime pay have greatly increased and the growth in per capita wages has exceeded the growth in labor productivity. These facts show that when an enterprise is only responsible for profits and not responsible for losses and budget restraints are softened, any indirect control measures can be diluted or offset to quite a degree by "the big pot." If enterprises are to flexibly respond to the state's indirect controls there needs to be a generally complete market system. Only through such a

market will enterprises be able, on the basis of signals provided by prices and other indirect control measures, to smoothly readjust production and divert funds and obtain appropriate profits. And only thus will the activities which enterprises select on the basis of their own interests basically accord with the demands of macroeconomic management targets. In the last few years, since the readjustment of some commodity prices and opening up, prices have risen but the situation in which "price rises lead to more production and more production leads to price reductions" has not occurred. A major reason for this is that the market system is incomplete and enterprises often cannot obtain the necessary conditions from the market enabling them to readjust production and divert funds.

It can be seen that realizing the economic management target model is a gradual process. It basically involves three stages. The first stage involves mainly direct controls with indirect controls as a supplement. The second stage involves direct and indirect controls implemented together. The third stage involves mainly indirect controls with direct controls as a supplement. At the present time we are still in the first stage. The amount of time required for a complete change is mainly determined by the development and degree of completeness of the enterprise mechanism and market mechanism. Whether this process is fast or slow is inseparable from the degree to which macroeconomic management can create a good economic environment for the economic structural reform. The use of direct deployment can only appropriately shrink as the rational resources deployment achieved through the market mechanism grows. Otherwise, the anticipated results will not be achieved and a loss of macroeconomic control, demand inflation and proportional imbalance may occur. At this time, it will be necessary to use more direct control measures to effect readjustment, resulting in setbacks for our reforms and construction. The present task is to actively create conditions to enable us to strive to achieve the change from the first stage to the second stage as early as possible. In this, how we are to achieve a general balance both in total volume and structurally between demand and supply, how we are to appropriately reduce the scope of mandatory planning, raise the level of operational decisionmaking by enterprises and their responsibility for profits and losses, and especially how we are to further make macroeconomic decisionmaking more democratic and scientific are important problems we must make efforts to resolve.

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CSO: 4005/535

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 87 p 31

[Text] This Article Proposed a Matter Worth Paying Attention To

Comrade Editor:

The article "An Appraisal of China's Traditional Philosophy and Its Historical Destiny" carried in RED FLAG No 2 proposed a matter worth paying attention to. Now everyone is talking about "concept renewal" and of course renewal inevitably means that traditional concepts will be viewed from a more negative angle. This is very natural if there were no negation, how could there be renewal? However, under calls for overall "renewal," it is easy to negate everything and make the mistake of national nihilism--as if nothing in the ideology and culture of the motherland over several thousand years is worth carrying on--and of wanting to make everything Western. There are already symptoms of this. This article grasped these symptoms and drew people's attention to them in a timely way. This is of great importance. The article states facts and is logically presented, enabling people to recognize the great educational importance today of the Chinese nation's outstanding ideological and cultural traditions and to see that these traditions are worthy of deep exploration and great development by us. The article also points out that it is necessary for us to renew our concepts but that we should take "foreign things for China's use" and "ancient things for modern use." This point is also important.

Li Shoupeng [2621 1108 1756], Shanghai East China Chemical Industry Institute

Discussing a Point

Comrade Editor:

The article "On the Consciousness of the Socialist Commodity Economy" carried in RED FLAG No 1 held that a commodity economy based on public ownership no longer has the economic soil to produce a capitalist commodity economy consciousness. I believe that we cannot be too absolute on this point. First, the socialist commodity economy and the capitalist commodity economy have to a certain degree a successor relationship. The first-mentioned grew from the latter and thus the two economic consciousnesses will in several respects have some similarities. Second, our nation's socialist commodity economy has



not yet developed to a high degree and is not yet perfect. This "imperfection" may cause "recurrences" of the capitalist commodity economy consciousness and not all of these will be attributable to outside sources. Third, putting an end to capitalist ideas and actions of fetishism and only seeking profits, which put money above all else, requires the leadership of the party's correct line and needs a complete socialist legal system. This is not a problem which can simply be resolved by a "public ownership system."

Xu Jiaqi [1776 1367 7784], JIEFANG RIBAO

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## DIALOGUE ON THE QUESTION OF DEMOCRACY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 87 pp 32-36

[Article by Yang Ruisen [2799 3843 2773], an associate professor of Nankai University; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] **DEMOCRACY IS A STATE POLITICAL SYSTEM AND HAS CLASS NATURE. EVEN IF CAPITALIST DEMOCRACY IS PERFECT, IT IS STILL DEMOCRACY ENJOYED ONLY BY THE BOURGEOISIE.**

Student: We young students have always shown concern for the question of democracy. In the wake of the development of reform of the economic structure, the question of reform of the political structure has been included on the agenda and the question of democracy has become an important topic for our discussion. We have invited you to come today because we wish to discuss this question together. We wonder if you are interested.

Teacher: Very interested. Not only students but also teachers have shown great concern for the question of democracy. The relations between us are both the relations between teachers and students and the relations between comrades and between friends. Therefore, I am very willing to have a confidential exchange of views on this question with all of you.

Student: Now, some Western developed capitalist countries have implemented such political systems as the two-party system or multi-party system, election contest system, the parliamentary system, and balance of powers. Under these systems, all kinds of parties and forces in society can supervise and restrict each other, vie with each other, and expose each other so that their country can make all kinds of decisions which conform to the interests and desires of the majority of people. Why do we always adopt an attitude of criticizing and negating this kind of democratic system of capitalism?

Teacher: Capitalist democracy has gone through a process of development for 200 to 300 years. Due to the fact that the national conditions of capitalist countries are different, the forms of their democratic systems are also different. For example, the United States is implementing a two-party system, countries, including France and Italy, are implementing the multi-party system; Britain has cabinet government, the United States has a presidential government; "parliament is supreme" in Britain, the United States

advocates "balance of powers," and so on. As a political system or state form, the democratic system of capitalism is established and develops on the basis of private ownership of capitalism and serves the basic interests of the bourgeoisie. So far as the "balance of powers" and the "two-party system" in the United States are concerned, even though its organs of state power may restrict each other, for example, Congress may impeach the president, the Supreme Court may rule that the law adopted by Congress is null and void, the president may dissolve Congress, and so on; and even though the Democratic Party and the Republican Party may expose each other's past misdeeds and even curse each other, these three powers are grasped in the hands of the bourgeoisie and the two parties are only the representatives of the interests of different financial groups of the bourgeoisie. Whatever "mutual restrictions" are imposed among the "three powers" and between the "two parties," they want to safeguard the basic interests of the bourgeoisie more effectively. Do you think that even though their Congress "impeaches the president," it does so in the interests of the proletariat? When a certain president assumes power, it is not necessarily the desire of the laboring people. Likewise, when a certain president falls out of power, it is not necessarily the expression of the will of the laboring masses. However sharp and intense the contradiction and struggle within the bourgeoisie may be, they can by no means basically shake up private ownership of capitalism. Therefore, we say that the democratic system of capitalism is, in essence, the democracy of a small number of people of the bourgeoisie and not the democracy of the laboring people.

Student: So far as I know, in some developed capitalist countries, people can publish their views in newspapers and journals to criticize the government and the masses enjoy many democratic rights, including the right to strike, hold processions, and have sit-ins. Can this not show that the democratic system of capitalism is democratic toward the masses?

Teacher: Whether or not the democratic system of capitalism, as of political system, is really a democratic system enjoyed by the majority of people and whether or not the masses enjoy some democratic rights under the capitalist system are two problems which are related to each other and which are not exactly the same. Regarding the former problem, it was roughly dealt with above; regarding the latter problem, we must admit that to flaunt that it represents the "interests of the whole people," the bourgeois regime is obliged to give people a certain form of democratic rights. Furthermore, due to the extensive and deepgoing development of the masses' struggle for their own interests and sometimes due to the sharp contradictions within the ruling class, some measures aimed at readjusting its internal relations are objectively beneficial to the masses and some lawful democratic rights enjoyed by the masses in the capitalist society are therefore expanded. For example, in some developed capitalist countries, restrictions on property have been lifted in elections; the law has repealed the policy of racial segregation, and so on. However, while investigating the relations between the democratic system of capitalism and the masses, we must see that the democratic system of capitalism has a characteristic, which is that the form seriously runs counter to the content and theory seriously runs counter to practice. So far as election is concerned, in form, electors can carry out election on an equal basis according to their own will but in practice, a



...rker who has nothing at all and a billionaire who controls instruments of propaganda and mass media cannot enjoy equal electoral rights. Taking the United States as an example, the cost of the campaign for a member of the House of Representatives is \$150,000 on average but that for the campaign for a senator is \$500,000 to \$1 million. How can ordinary people and big shots enjoy equal democratic rights under this situation? Moreover, so far as racial discrimination against black people in the United States is concerned, although in the 1950's, the U.S. Supreme Court negated certain policies of racial segregation openly formulated in law, in practice, some leading figures of the U.S. Government cannot help admitting that racial discrimination against and racial segregation from black people still seriously exists up to the present. We can often see this in relevant newspapers and television programs in the United States. You have just talked about how, in a capitalist country, people also enjoy democratic rights, including freedom of speech, processions, demonstrations, and sit-ins, in fact, these democratic rights enjoyed by the masses under the capitalist system are always strictly limited within the scope permitted by the capitalist law and presuppose that the bourgeois ruling is not endangered. As Lenin said, in a capitalist society, due to the existence of an unequal source—private ownership, it is impossible to have real democracy politically, the democratic system of capitalism is democracy enjoyed only by a very small number of people, rich people enjoy democracy, and the great majority of people are excluded from the social political life so that they cannot actively take part in a democratic life.

Student: Does what you said mean that the democratic system of capitalism is of no importance to the masses and is dispensable? Is the generation and development of the democratic system of capitalism of progressive significance in the development of civilization of mankind?

Teacher: This is a very good question. Some views I mentioned above deal with the class nature of the democratic system of capitalism. If we investigate it from the angle of the historical development of human civilization, the development from autocracy to the democratic system of capitalism is no doubt a very big progress. In history, the democratic system of capitalism vigorously promoted the development of productive forces of capitalist society, thus promoting the progress of human civilization as a whole. Although the generation and development of the democratic system of capitalism has not fundamentally altered the class status of the proletariat and the other laboring masses who are oppressed and exploited, it has changed the form by which the ruling class oppresses the ruled class. However, as Lenin pointed out: "This does not mean that the form of oppression is a matter of indifference to the proletariat." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 239) Under the capitalist system, the proletariat and the other laboring masses can utilize the conditions provided by the democratic system of capitalism to carry out more extensive, freer, and more public struggle to seek some lawful rights and interests for themselves. While disclosing the class nature of the democratic system of capitalism, we must adopt a class and historical analytic attitude to affirm its historical progressive nature.

SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IS THE HIGHEST TYPE OF DEMOCRACY. IN THE PRIMARY STAGE OF SOCIALISM, SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY ACTUALLY HAS IMPERFECT ASPECTS AND THE BUILDING OF THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM IS A PROCESS OF GRADUAL ADVANCE.

Student: We basically agree on your analysis of the democratic system of capitalism. However, practical life gives us this impression: A fairly large number of people seem to feel that the ideas and concepts of democracy, freedom, equality, and universal fraternity are exclusive to the bourgeoisie and democracy is a dispensable thing in socialism. What do you think about this problem?

Teacher: This is a misunderstanding. So far as Marxism is concerned, democracy is a basic target which the proletariat and its party carry out a revolutionary struggle to pursue. For example, the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" points out that the first step of the workers' revolution is to "make the proletariat ascend to the ruling class and to strive for democracy"; furthermore, democracy is the basic feature of the political system of socialism because only the socialist system can be called a real democratic system whereby the masses become the masters of their own affairs. Lenin pointed out that autocracy developed to bourgeois democracy, which then developed to proletarian democracy, finally, democracy would develop to an extreme and perish by itself and this was the process of the dialectic development of democracy. It was from the class nature of democracy and from the significance of the dialectic process of the democratic development that Lenin repeatedly stressed that socialist democracy was the highest type of democracy. Of course, in a relatively long period after the founding of our country, under the influence of the "leftist" guiding ideology, the building of socialist democracy was really disregarded in the course of our work. This situation was corrected after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The 12th party congress and the "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Guiding Principle for the Building of Socialist Spiritual Civilization" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee held last year conducted further scientific analysis of the question of democracy and determined to regard the building of a high degree of socialist democracy as an important strategic target of the socialist modernization of our country. I feel that regarding the question of socialist democracy of our country, we must not only see some faults and drawbacks in our past work but also particularly see the great efforts made by our party to correct the faults in our past work and to perfect socialist democracy.

Student: Phenomena including bureaucratism, individual arbitrary decisions, and seeking privileges by some people exist in the practical social and political life of our country and many problems in party style and the general mood of society also exist. Why do we talk about socialist democracy with the existence of these problems?

Teacher: We adults are also dissatisfied with these malpractices and problems existing in practical life. However, I feel that in treating these kinds of problems, we must pay attention to two points: 1) We must distinguish the democratic system of socialism from the drawbacks in some

specific links of this system and cannot paint a dark picture of the democratic system of socialism because drawbacks exist in some specific links of the democratic system of socialism. The implication of democracy is that people are masters of their own affairs, and in this sense, only socialist democracy is real democracy. In our country, a state system of people's democratic dictatorship has been established, the exploiting class eliminated, and the masses have become the masters of our country and society and enjoyed extensive democratic rights. These are the basic facts. 2) We must see that various problems currently existing in the practical life of our country are being overcome and our party and country are making arduous efforts to perfect the democratic system of socialism and to correct party style and various problems existing in the general mood of society. We all know that shortly after the smashing of the "gang of four," our party began resolving the problems of political structural reform. As early as August 1980, at an enlarged meeting of the Central Committee Politburo, Comrade Deng Xiaoping delivered an important speech on "reform of the leadership system of our party and country." In this speech, Comrade Deng Xiaoping completely disclosed the various malpractices existing in the current specific system of our party and country, profoundly analyzed the social historical roots and ideological roots that had generated these malpractices, and pointed out the importance of these malpractices and the way to resolve these problems. Several years after this, we all can obviously see that we have made relatively great progress in straightening out party style and the general mood of society. Party disciplinary actions will be taken against people, whomever they may be, if they violate party discipline and legal sanctions will be taken against them sooner or later if they violate state law. Of course, unhealthy trends are not formed overnight, and it is very difficult to eliminate them quickly and thoroughly. However, they can, no doubt, be eliminated sooner or later. The progress in democratic building over the past few years is obvious to all. So far as the electoral system is concerned, in only several years after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, to suit the constant profound changes in politics, economy, and culture of our country, the NPC successively revised and supplemented the electoral law of our country in 1979, 1982, and 1986 to make socialist democracy of our country continuously develop. For example, according to the spirit of the two decisions on the revised electoral law and local organizational law adopted at the 18th meeting of the NPC Standing Committee on 2 December 1986, important reform of the forthcoming reelection at the county and township levels in 1987 has been made: Emphasizing that it is necessary to fully respect the will of the voters, no hard and fast rules on the composition of deputies and ratio of all kinds of deputies should be laid down, and upper levels or leaders must not designate candidates, and emphasizing that deputies must have certain ability to carry out social activities and discuss political affairs and people should not be "honored" by being appointed people's congress deputies as honorary posts, and so on.

Student: We all have also held that since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, great progress has been made in democracy and in the legal system of our country. However, we have always felt that the current state of the political life of our country has fallen far short of the requirements for a high degree of socialist democracy. Why can we not speed up democratization?



Teacher: We all know that democratic building is not an isolated thing but a complicated system engineering that must be restricted by various factors, including economic conditions, social environment, ideology, and culture. Because of this, it is unimaginable only to carry out democratic building without the building of material and spiritual civilization and it is of no significance to prattle about democracy without economic and cultural development. Our China is a big country whose economy and culture has not developed sufficiently and we all understand the economically backward state of our country. So far as the cultural condition is concerned, up to the present, some 200 million people throughout our country are still illiterate or semi-illiterate, the remnants of feudalist traditional concepts still shackle people's minds in many aspects, and many people still lack democratic habits. This is the national condition of China. Our democratic building can only proceed from this specific reality of China. To build a high degree of socialist democracy, we must surely carry forward the spirit of being resolute and blazing a new trail, overcome all conservative concepts of following the beaten path and of no desire for making progress, and also have a prudent and matter-of-fact scientific attitude to carry out political structural reform and to build democracy in a down-to-earth manner because a high degree of socialist democracy cannot be built in one move.

ALL DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM IS RELATIVE AND CONDITIONAL AND MUST BE RESTRICTED WITHIN THE SCOPE PERMITTED BY THE CONSTITUTION AND LAW. ADHERING TO THE FOUR CARDINAL PRINCIPLES AND CARRYING FORWARD SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY ARE NOT MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE.

Student: The central authorities have now repeatedly stressed that in opening up and reform, it is imperative to adhere to the four cardinal principles. We understand and agree on this. However, we are also worried about whether stress on adhering to the four cardinal principles will restrict socialist democracy and freedom. What is your opinion on this question?

Teacher: People have these misgivings because they have mainly lacked the understanding of the relativity of democracy and freedom. People are the masters of a country and this is the original implication of democracy. However, we cannot deviate from centralism when we stress democracy, because a unified opinion cannot be formed without centralism; likewise, we cannot deviate from discipline when we stress freedom, because if people are allowed to enjoy freedom unrestricted by discipline, including freedom harming other people, people will have no freedom at all. Democracy and centralism and freedom and discipline are the unity of opposites and the Constitution and law are embodied in a unified way in the standard of people's behavior and are a guarantee for achieving this unity. British bourgeois enlightenment thinker Locke in the 17th century said that "where there is no law, there is no freedom...but freedom is not, as people tell us, that kind of freedom that everyone can do what they like"; bourgeois jurist Mootesquieu of France at the early stage also said that "freedom is the right to do all things permitted by law"; and the "Declaration of the Rights of Man of the Citizen" of France which was looked upon as a model of law by the bourgeoisie also clearly provides: "Freedom is the right to do everything that does no harm to other people." It is therefore improper if we set

democracy against centralism and freedom against discipline and if we hold that so long as we stress centralism, discipline and law will negate democracy and freedom.

If we clearly understand the foregoing reason, we can easily understand the relation between adhering to the four cardinal principles and carrying forward socialist democracy. We all know that the socialist system we are today implementing is not determined by any political party or any individual but is paid for in blood after repeated explorations, comparisons, and extremely hard and bitter struggles by hundreds of millions of Chinese people for over 100 years. This is a historic selection. The leadership status of the CPC in the socialist state power of our country has not been proclaimed by a small number of people or the CPC itself but has been determined by the people of all nationalities throughout our country after struggle against the powerful enemy at home and abroad for over half a century. This is the desire of 1 billion people. The four cardinal principles not only have been included in the Constitution of our country but also are the important contents and basic guiding principle of the Constitution of our country. The four cardinal principles embody in a concentrated way the basic law of the modern Chinese revolution and of social development, are the summation of the basic historic experience in winning victory in the Chinese revolution, are the basic guarantees for achieving the socialist modernization of our country, and at the same time, are the basic criterion for standardizing the words and deeds of every citizen. You must mention whether stress on adhering to the four cardinal principles implies a restriction of socialist democracy and freedom, and I feel I must say that restriction must be imposed and that a restriction must be imposed on ultra-democracy and absolute freedom, which should and must be restricted. Just think: Will our country sink into a chaos and anarchy and will the revolutionary achievements we have scored and the socialist construction cause on which we are embarking be irrevocably lost if a restriction is not imposed and if people are allowed to say what they want and do what they want and even negate or oppose the four cardinal principles? If the four cardinal principles are forsaken, the socialist democratic system can only be basically sabotaged and people can hardly exercise their democratic rights. This is common sense. Every citizen will not permit such a folly. Therefore, adhering to the four cardinal principles and carrying forward socialist democracy and freedom are not mutually exclusive.

Student: We have just talked about the exploration of truth by our elders. So far as we know, every generation has its process of understanding truth and the process of understanding truth by the older generation cannot replace the process of understanding truth by the younger generation. We young people are pondering over and exploring the way out for the current social development and reform of China according to our model of thinking, and many current ways of thinking and doing of young students are the expression of this exploration.

Teacher: Due to different historical conditions, the specific ways of accepting and grasping truth by different ages are surely different. Our era is greatly different from the era of the proletarian revolutionaries of

the older generation. Today, we have the leadership of the Communist Party armed with Marxist theory and the superior socialist system, and the masses have become the masters of our country and society. Under this condition, while exploring the problems of the road of life and social reform, young people have no need to repeat the difficult and tortuous road through which the older generation passed. Of course, the understanding and grasping of truth by the older generation cannot replace the pursuit, pondering over, and exploration of truth by the younger generation but the experiences, achievements, and lessons paid for in blood by the older generation in the course of exploring and struggling for truth warrant us young people's remembrance, absorption, and inheritance. Some young friends' spirit of pursuing truth is commendable, but this pursuit can only be carried out in the capacity and attitude of a master and on the foundation of achievements already scored. So far as the exploration of the question of democracy is concerned, our historic duty is to further uphold and perfect socialist democracy and not to deviate from socialist democracy to explore other democracy.

Student: You have spent a long time exchanging views with us on the question of democracy. Your many views are useful for helping us resolve the relevant problem of ideological understanding. We hope that you will often exchange views with us.

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## DO AWAY WITH THE OBSOLETE CUSTOMS OF MARRIAGE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 87 pp 37-38

[Article by Liu Jinxiu [0491 0093 4423]]

[Text] Our nation's reform and the socialist construction of cultural civilization have changed the mental attitudes of the general public and dealt a great blow to some obsolete customs of marriage. In some regions many village girls take the lead in smashing old customs and establishing new conventions. In selecting husbands they do not care about their family status. They do not accept any betrothal gifts or go for ostentation and extravagance in wedding ceremonies. Marriage service teams are established in some areas to arrange marriage activities in a new way. They undertake civilized, frugal, and thrilling wedding banquets that are of a new style for youths. In some places local organizations like "weddings and funerals committees" and "committees for transforming prevailing social traditions" are set up to help release peasants from the outmoded conventions and bad customs of weddings and funerals. Efforts are made to change prevailing social traditions and reforming outworn customs. This deserves our encouragement, support and advocacy.

In recent years marriage expenses have increased tremendously in many places, especially in villages. According to investigations conducted by some authorities concerned, the average income of peasants rose 1.1 times while the amount of money spent on betrothal gifts increased tenfold from a range of 100 to 300 yuan to that of 1,000 to 3,000 yuan during the past 6 years. In many places people are extravagant in wedding affairs. They go for ostentation, parade their wealth in wedding banquets and spend lavishly on food and drinks. The total expenses amount to 2,000 to 5,000 yuan. However, if furniture, clothing and high-class consumer goods are taken into account, 10,000 yuan may not be enough for expenses in some cases. As these conditions where people spend extravagantly on marriages intensify and worsen, severe public harm is done to society and the consequence is not to be overlooked.

With the development of the village economy, what should those peasants who have just rid themselves of poverty do with the money on hand? In implementing our nation's four modernizations full-scale reconstruction has to be undertaken in various respects. All these construction programs require

funds for development. But the funds which are required for the construction of village production are not allocated by the nation but are actually contributed by the peasants themselves. The large marriage expenses that are mentioned above are far beyond the financial strength of the peasants. Money that can be invested in the village for expanding the production capacity is now spent on betrothal gifts, ostentation and extravagant weddings. Some peasants who have just resolved the basic problem of livelihood are forced to borrow and thus become indebted. Though a few impoverished regions owe the nation a lot of money, peasants spend lavishly on their marriages. Some parents even save up marriage money for their children when they are still babies. Some youths in the city spend a lot of money on marriages. The figures are so great that they become incredible. These youths spend all their savings and have to rely on the subsidies from their parents and relatives. In this way additional mental and financial burdens are laid on parents and relatives. Thus, it is not surprising to hear people say: "A father is stripped of his wealth once his son arranges a marriage" and "Since large amounts of money are spent on marriage, life will not be easy."

The above condition inevitably causes a number of social problems. Betrothal money has become so exorbitant that some peasants find themselves financially incapable of getting married. It also causes a more frequent occurrence of such conditions as changing marriage partners, exchanging a daughter for a daughter-in-law or "buying a daughter-in-law" and arranging "young marriage," and provides a market for the criminal activities of swindling and selling women. Since many families owe long-term debts to others, lives become hard. Husbands and wives quarrel with each other very often while conflicts arise between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law. Undesirable events like suicide and murder occur too. In order to get sufficient money for marriage, some youths even go astray by committing crime. "They are sent to prison cells before going into bridal chambers." Such marriages in disguised forms resemble buying and selling transactions. They give rise to a tremendous increase of families formed and maintained on a "loose basis." New elements of instability are thus added to society. It is also worth noting that the drastic rise in the value of betrothal gifts has, to a great extent, restricted and strangled the reasonable demand and right of young peasants in marriage affairs. Investigations conducted in Anhui Province show that the percentage of free love marriages in some village areas has decreased from 20 percent, a figure recorded 5 years ago, to 14 percent now. Youths are tied by the strings of betrothal gifts and the buying-and-selling of marriages. They are therefore unable to pursue a real and blissful love life. In order to rebel against such restrained marriages, some youths, especially female ones, are forced to walk a path to ruin. Outmoded marriage customs cast shadows on the lives of women in general. Some parents prefer to sacrifice the happiness of their daughters and insist on exchanging a daughter for a daughter-in-law. The daughter-in-law who is bought with money has no position or status in the family, not to mention individual character and self-esteem.

Obsolete customs are biting and poisoning people's hearts and souls. They ruin both the physical and mental well-being of youths, corrupt social morals and severely interfere with the construction of the two civilizations.

Ignorance and backwardness are the very soils for various obsolete customs. Our nation overthrew the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, and destroyed old political and economic systems many years ago. However, it takes quite a long time to do away with the dreg of the obsolete conventions which are deeply laid in people's minds and educating people on a new set of concepts. The task is in fact a difficult one. The difficulty can be illustrated clearly by the effects cast by those obsolete conventions that are stated above. The fact that people treat their children as their own property and regard marriage as a transaction reflects a contempt for people and a lowering and suppressing of people's importance under the private ownership system. The narrow-mindedness and short-sightedness of small producers cause some people to become "too satisfied with the small fortune that they make." In order to show off their wealth they compete with each other by spending lavishly. Under these circumstances many people follow fashion blindly. Even more people, under some unknown pressures, think that "the act of spending extravagantly has become a convention of life that can hardly be changed." Therefore they have to brace themselves and follow the practice. Some time ago some advertisements that propagated high consumption consciously and unconsciously made the stormy sea stormier.

The general masses have poured out endless grievances toward the heavy financial burden of marriage. Most youths hope to be released from the shackles of high-priced betrothal gifts and get married without practical constraints. Thus, the abolition of outmoded regulations and the promotion of new social customs are not only tasks that brook no delay but are also important to the construction of socialist cultural civilization. Party organizations, government and mass associations should pay attention to the above tasks and allocate human resources to help stop the outmoded regulations from spreading and doing harm to society. Correct and forceful public opinion plays an important part in upgrading people's moral standards as well as redressing social customs. We have to establish and make use of correct public opinion to support and commend those advanced people who are bold in smashing old customs and establishing new conventions by repudiating such unhealthy tendencies as buying and selling women in the disguised form of marriage, the extorting of expensive betrothal gifts and the going in for ostentation and extravagance in marriages. We should respect and support youths who are married on the foundation of lofty love. Efforts should also be made to establish good social customs by educating people that it is an honor to be frugal in marriage.

Whether the reform of social customs is a thorough one or not depends very much on the willingness of the masses. Goals of the reform can only be achieved by the masses. Various types of "executive committees" are being set up in some villages. The establishment of these local organizations allows peasants to manage their affairs themselves, and to organize and coordinate with one another in smashing the deep-rooted obsolete customs on the condition that health and traditions, and people's wishes are respected. Women who suffer severely from marriage conventions should take those female youths who smashed old customs, established new social styles and were bold in the fight against feudal traditions as their examples. If it is believed



that they will learn to rid themselves of their sense of inferiority, regain self-importance and self-esteem, and insist on upholding the freedom of marriage. "Liu Qiaoer" and "Xiaoqin" were brave in the fight against old traditions. The new women of the eighties should be braver and should take the lead to challenge feudal conventions. They should choose husbands according to their personal qualities and not their "family status," accept no betrothal gifts and be frugal in marriage ceremonies. They are expected to know how to protect their own interests and rights by employing the law as their weapons, and be brave in pursuing real, free and happy love.

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**STUDY OUTLINE OF EXPOSITIONS FROM CENTRAL DOCUMENTS ON ADHERING TO THE FOUR  
CARDINAL PRINCIPLES AND OPPOSING BOURGEOIS LIBERALIZATION**

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 87 pp 39-44

[Article by RED FLAG Theoretical Education Editorial Office; capitalized  
passages published in boldface]

[Text] Foreword

At present the broad masses of party members and cadres are restudying the expositions made by the CPC Central Committee, especially by the Central Committee Standing Committee represented by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee on adhering to the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization. This is an important task for the cadres in their study of political theory this year.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, while emphasizing reform, opening up, and invigoration, our party has repeatedly reiterated the necessity of adhering to the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization. The expositions on this question correctly analyze the situation and problems of the political and ideological fronts in our country and point out the great importance of adhering to the four cardinal principles, opposing bourgeois liberalization, overcoming a weak and relaxed situation on the ideological front, and correctly carrying out the struggles against both "leftist" and rightist mistakes. They are of far-reaching significance to unifying the thinking of the whole party, preserving and developing the stability and unity of the political situation, adhering to overall reform and opening up to the outside world, and promoting the construction of socialist modernization. In the past we also studied these expositions of the central authorities. But generally speaking we did not make a profound study on these questions in the past. Some comrades even regarded these expositions as "old doctrines" and "old frames." They did not study them in a conscientious manner, not to mention conscientiously implementing them. For this reason when the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization appeared some time ago these weak and apathetic comrades were unable to justly and forcefully adhere to the four cardinal principles and oppose bourgeois liberalization. This time, when we restudy these expositions, we must learn from our past lessons and strive to gain a better understanding of the spirit and essence of these expositions. At the

same time we must ponder deeply, linking them to our own thinking and some muddled ideas and erroneous understandings existing in our party and society over the past few years so that we can draw a clear distinction between right and wrong. The leading cadres at various levels must set a good example in this field. Through this study they must strive to raise consciousness by implementing in an all-round way the party's line mapped out since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, adhering to the four cardinal principles, and implementing the policies and principles of reform, opening up, and invigoration. They must strive to grasp the ideological weapons for opposing bourgeois liberalization so that they can stand in the forefront of the struggle with a firm and clear-cut stand and handle matters in strict accordance with the policies and principles of the central authorities so that this struggle can be carried on protractedly and healthily.

To assist this study we have compiled the "Study Outline of Expositions From Central Documents on Adhering to the Four Cardinal Principles and Opposing Bourgeois Liberalization," summarizing relevant questions into the following four special topics: 1) Adhere to the four cardinal principles as the foundation for founding and governing our state; 2) oppose bourgeois liberalization with a clear-cut stand; 3) conscientiously overcome the situation of being weak and relaxed on the ideological front; and 4) correctly carry out ideological struggles between the two fronts. On each special topic we summarize some introductions and expositions based on the spirit of the central documents. Our purpose is to enable the readers to gain an overall and outlined understanding of these questions so that they can study the central documents more effectively. Since it concerns many documents the "Outline" cannot include everything. There are also possibly some inaccurate expositions and summaries on certain questions. It can only serve as a reference for readers while studying the central documents.

#### 1. Adhering to the Four Cardinal Principles Is the Foundation for Founding and Governing the State

Adhering to the socialist road, adhering to the people's democratic dictatorship, adhering to the leadership of the Communist Party, and adhering to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought is a crystallization of the basic experiences of the Chinese revolution and construction and an expression of the combination of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete practices. Adhering to the four cardinal principles is the foundation for founding and governing our state, and the political foundation for the unity of the whole party and the people of all nationalities throughout the country. It is of decisive significance to the nature and future of our state. The four cardinal principles are stated in both the Constitution and the party Constitution. They form the most important political discipline of our party and the norm of conduct for all citizens. While studying this special topic, we must grasp the following three major points:

- 1) The four cardinal principles that have been upheld by our party for a long time;

- 2) Adhering to the four cardinal principles as the fundamental guarantee for reform, opening up, and invigoration; and
- 3) The relationship between adhering to the four cardinal principles and emancipating the mind and developing democracy.

WHEN STUDYING THE FIRST POINT WE MUST MAINLY UNDERSTAND THE FOLLOWING: FIRST, THE CPC CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAS ALWAYS EMPHASIZED ADHERING TO THE FOUR CARDINAL PRINCIPLES SINCE THE SMASHING OF THE "GANG OF FOUR," ESPECIALLY SINCE THE 3D PLENARY SESSION OF THE 11TH CPC CENTRAL COMMITTEE; SECOND, THE FOUR CARDINAL PRINCIPLES FORM THE BASIS OF VARIOUS POLICIES OF OUR PARTY; AND THIRD, THE CORE OF THE FOUR CARDINAL PRINCIPLES IS ADHERING TO THE PARTY LEADERSHIP.

The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee made the policy decision to shift our focus of work to the building of socialist modernization and put forth the policy of emancipating the mind, using the brain, seeking truth from facts, and uniting and looking ahead. From then on, our party began to correct the "leftist" mistakes in an all-round way and put right things which had been thrown into disorder. At that time two ideological trends appeared in our society which cast doubts about and opposed the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. One of the ideological trends was that a small number of comrades within our party who were deeply influenced by the ultra-"leftist" ideology of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were spreading rumors and attacking the policies and principles mapped out since the smashing of the "gang of four," especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, saying that these policies and principles ran counter to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. The other trend was that while a handful of people in our society were spreading ideas about doubting and opposing the four cardinal principles, some comrades within the party did not yet recognize the danger of this ideological trend or even directly or indirectly supported it to varying degrees. Due to the influences of these two ideological trends the phenomenon of a small number of people stirring up troubles appeared in some places which seriously sabotaged our work order, production order, and social order. It was under such circumstances that at the theoretical work symposium meeting held in March 1979, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, on behalf of the Central Committee, summarized the principles that our party had long adhered to into the four cardinal principles, telling the whole party and the people throughout the country: "The central authorities hold that in order to realize the four modernizations in China it is necessary to adhere to the four cardinal principles in the ideological and political fields. This is a fundamental prerequisite for realizing the four modernizations." "The central authorities hold that it is necessary to repeatedly emphasize the four cardinal principles today because some people (though they may form only a very small minority) are trying to shake them. This should never be allowed. All Communist Party members, particularly all ideological and theoretical workers of our party, are never allowed to waver on this fundamental stand. If any of the four cardinal principles is shaken the entire socialist cause will be shaken and the entire modernization drive will be shaken." In his speech at the 3d meeting of the 5th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee held in February 1980, in light of the trend of deviating from the



party's ideological line and the four cardinal principles among some people, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out once again when expounding the party's ideological line: "If we deviate from the four cardinal principles we will have no roots, no orientation, and the implementation of the party's ideological line will be out of the question." In December 1980, in view of the situation that some people had obstructed the implementation of the line, policies, and principles mapped out since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out again at the Central Work Conference: "These four cardinal principles should be adhered to and should never be shaken by anybody. It is necessary to have them guaranteed in an appropriate legal form." In a series of documents, such as the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" adopted by the 5th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in February 1980, the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in June 1981, the "Constitution of the CPC" adopted by the 12th CPC National Congress in September 1982, and the "Constitution of the PRC" adopted by the 5th Session of the 5th NPC, there are all definite stipulations on adhering to the four cardinal principles for CPC members, CYL members, advanced elements, and people throughout the country. In October 1983, in light of the serious impurity in the party's ideology, organization, and work style and the spiritual pollution on the ideological front, the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee also pointed out in its "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Party Rectification" that unifying thinking means further achieving a high degree of unanimity in the ideological and political affairs of the whole party and correcting both the "leftist" and rightist erroneous trends that run counter to the four cardinal principles and the party's line mapped out since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The National Conference of Party Delegates held in September 1985 and the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee held in September 1986 also emphasized the necessity of adhering to the four cardinal principles. Recently, in view of the situation that a handful of people were brazenly negating the four cardinal principles and encouraging the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization, the CPC Central Committee and Comrade Deng Xiaoping again repeatedly emphasized that it is necessary to uphold the four cardinal principles with a clear-cut stand, otherwise the trend of bourgeois liberalization will be encouraged. The reason why the CPC Central Committee and Comrade Deng Xiaoping have repeatedly emphasized and attached great importance to adhering to the four cardinal principles is that these principles form the foundation for founding and governing our state and uniting the people throughout the country in their common struggle.

In Comrade Deng Xiaoping's expositions on the four cardinal principles there is a very important idea, namely, that the four cardinal principles are the foundation of our party's various policies. When talking about the continuity of the party's policies at the National Conference of Party Delegates held in September 1985 he said: "What is the continuity of our party's policies? This certainly includes independence and self-determination, democracy and the legal system, and the policies of opening up to the outside world and invigorating the domestic economy. These will not be changed. Still less will we change or shake the foundation of these policies, namely,

the four cardinal principles." These remarks which reflect the guiding ideology of our party in various fields of work are an important basis for us in gaining a correct understanding of the gist of the party's line, principles, and policies mapped out since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Adhering to the socialist road is the basic orientation for us in working out and implementing various policies; adhering to the people's democratic dictatorship is the guarantee for us in working out and implementing policies; our policies cannot be worked out and implemented without the leadership of the Communist Party; and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought are our guide in working out and implementing various policies. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, in order to ensure the unity and continuity of the party's policies and the smooth progress of the socialist modernization drive, the CPC Central Committee has always taken the four cardinal principles as the basis in working out, enriching, and developing various internal and external policies.

In adhering to the four cardinal principles, the most important thing is to adhere to the leadership of the Communist Party. Since our party committed "leftist" mistakes in its guiding ideology in the past some people in our society have shown doubts about the party leadership or have less confidence in the party leadership over the modernization drive. Some have even opposed or tried to abolish party leadership. In light of this situation Comrade Deng Xiaoping has emphasized many times that the core of adhering to the four cardinal principles is to adhere to the party leadership and the core of bourgeois liberalization is to oppose the party leadership. We must have a clear understanding of this point. First, our party is guided by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. They are the forces at the core leading our socialist cause and the people's democratic dictatorship. History for more than the past 60 years since the May 4th Movement has proved that without the Communist Party there would be no successes in the Chinese revolution and there would be no socialist new China. Second, to unify the thinking and strength of 1 billion people in building socialism, without a party that is composed of members who have consciousness, a sense of discipline, and the spirit of devotion and that can really represent and unite the masses of people, without the unified leadership of such a party, we will accomplish nothing and will only be all split up. China was always likened to a sheet of loose sand before our party became the party in power and the force at the core uniting the whole nation and putting an end to the situation of separation. Third, our party made many mistakes in the past, but each time, it relied on its own strength to correct these mistakes. Facts show that being educated and tempered by mistakes and setbacks, our party has become stronger and more mature. The remarkable achievements we have made over the past few years in the economic, political, educational, and science and cultural fields provide us with very good examples to prove this. Any attempts to weaken, deviate from, abolish, and oppose party leadership, both inside and outside the party, are entirely wrong. They can never be supported by the people. We must carry out criticisms and education in this respect, or even necessary struggles.

WHEN STUDYING THE SECOND POINT WE MUST MAINLY UNDERSTAND THE FOLLOWING: FIRST, ONLY BY ADHERING TO THE FOUR CARDINAL PRINCIPLES CAN WE HAVE A POLITICAL SITUATION OF STABILITY AND UNITY; SECOND, ADHERING TO THE FOUR CARDINAL PRINCIPLES IS THE FUNDAMENTAL PREREQUISITE FOR REALIZING THE FOUR SOCIALIST MODERNIZATIONS; AND THIRD, ADHERING TO THE FOUR CARDINAL PRINCIPLES IS A FUNDAMENTAL GUARANTEE FOR REFORM, OPENING UP, AND INVIGORATION.

Preserving and developing the political situation of stability and unity is the need of our socialist modernization drive and the common aspiration of the people throughout the country. Only by adhering to the four cardinal principles can we have a political situation of stability and unity. For a period of over 100 years after the Opium War, China was in a situation of being invaded and insulted. A situation of stability and unity never appeared in China until the Chinese people accepted Marxism-Leninism and took the road of advancing from new democracy to socialism. If China had not taken the socialist road under the leadership of the Communist Party but had taken the capitalist road, the long-standing situation of separatist warlord regimes and divisions between various nationalities could not have been ended, the Chinese people could not have stood up and become masters of their own houses, a situation in which inflation, speculation, and crimes abounded could not have been changed, and the stable social conditions could not have been created for the development of our economy and the improvement of the people's livelihood. The practice of the KMT for more than 20 years proves that the capitalist road does not suit China. In the period of socialist construction if we do not adhere to the four cardinal principles, the political situation of stability and unity will surely be damaged, and we will surely be unable to carry out socialist construction. Recently a handful of people with ulterior motives have continued to use the methods of the "Great Cultural Revolution" to stir up troubles and openly published anti-party and antisocialist remarks. At the same time some people have made use of the opportunity of the reform, opening up to the outside world, and invigorating the domestic economy to commit crimes, such as smuggling, tax evasion, speculation and profiteering, taking and giving bribes, and bending the law. Under this situation we must strengthen the state apparatus of the people's democratic dictatorship, deal heavy blows at and disintegrate the forces that sabotage stability and unity, and deal heavy blows at and stop all kinds of criminal activities. We must never allow those people who like to confuse right and wrong and spread rumors to stir up trouble among the masses and remain unchecked. If we do not deal heavy blows at these activities we will be unable to preserve the lively political situation of stability and unity. Thus, not only will our economic construction be difficult to carry out, but so will the democratic right of the masses of people and their right to live will be endangered.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: Adhering to the four cardinal principles is the fundamental prerequisite for realizing our socialist modernization. Our modernization is socialist modernization based on public ownership of the means of production and is aimed at continuously satisfying people's needs in their material and cultural life. Our target in the near future is to reach a comparatively well-off society by the end of this century.



By that time, with a population of 1.2 billion, the GNP will reach \$1000 billion. According to the capitalist method of distribution we still will not be able to extricate ourselves from a situation of poverty. But according to the socialist principle of distribution we will be able to make our people basically well-off. If we do not adhere to the socialist road and the socialist principles, not only will we be unable to attain this goal, but we will also inevitably go back to the old path of semicolonialism and semifeudalism, or take the evil capitalist road. There will be no hope for socialist modernization. Likewise, without the people's democratic dictatorship we will be unable to protect and realize the goal of our modernization drive. Without the leadership of the Communist Party who else can act as the organizer of our socialist political, economic, military, and cultural affairs, and the organizer of the four modernizations? Without Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought we will be unable to work out policies and principles for the realization of socialist modernization.

Adhering to the four cardinal principles is the fundamental guarantee for the reform, opening up, and invigoration. Comrade Zhao Ziyang pointed out: The CPC Central Committee believes that there are two basic points in the line of the third plenary session. One is to adhere to the four cardinal principles and the other is the policy of reform, opening up, and invigoration. Both relate to each other and supplement each other. If the four cardinal principles are not stressed there will be no orientation and guarantee for reform, opening up, and invigoration. If reform, opening up, and invigoration are not stressed social productive forces cannot be developed rapidly and building socialism with distinctive Chinese characteristics will be out of the question. The view, which places reform, opening up, and invigoration against the four cardinal principles, which holds that emphasizing the four cardinal principles will obstruct reform, opening up, and invigoration, is entirely wrong. We must realize that reform is a course of self-perfection and development of the socialist system, aimed at accelerating the development of social productive forces and fully utilizing the superiority of the socialist system. In our construction for modernization we have adopted the policy of opening up to the outside world and absorbed some useful things from the capitalist society. Our purpose is to make these things supplement the development of social productive forces so that we can realize socialist modernization with distinctive Chinese characteristics. We select and import some advanced technologies and other useful things from capitalist countries in a planned way but we will never learn from or introduce the capitalist system or any evil and decadent things. The overall reform and opening up to the outside world have brought great vitality to the socialist cause and greatly promoted the building of spiritual civilization. In the course of reform and opening up, with the correct leadership of the party, the guidance of Marxism, the basic socialist economic system and economic policies, and the people's democratic power and the socialist legal system, especially with the resolute support of the broad masses of people to socialist construction and reform, we will surely be able to suit the new situation, win the support of public opinion and create favorable cultural conditions and a favorable social environment for socialist modernization and overall reform. We will surely be able to forcefully resist the corrosive influence of capitalist and feudal ideologies and guard



against the danger of deviating from the correct orientation. And we will surely be able to arouse the great enthusiasm and creativity of the people of all nationalities throughout the country and achieve our goal of building China into a modern and powerful socialist country through the efforts of several generations of people.

WHEN STUDYING THE THIRD POINT WE MUST MAINLY UNDERSTAND THE FOLLOWING: FIRST, THE EMANCIPATION OF THE MIND CANNOT DEVIATE FROM THE TRACK OF THE FOUR CARDINAL PRINCIPLES; AND SECOND, DEVELOPING DEMOCRACY MUST BE BASED ON THE FOUR CARDINAL PRINCIPLES.

After smashing the "gang of four," in order to overcome the mistakes of the "two whatevers" and rigidity or semirigidity in some comrades' thinking, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has stressed many times that it is necessary to emancipate the mind. At the central work conference held in December 1978 he proposed the policy "emancipating the mind, using the brain, seeking truth from facts, and uniting and looking ahead." This was an important contribution to further putting right those things which had been thrown into disorder and to reestablishing the Marxist ideological line by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Later, in the course of emancipating the mind, some comrades had a kind of misunderstanding, thinking that emancipating the mind meant not being restricted by anything. Setting emancipation of the mind against the four cardinal principles they regarded the four cardinal principles as "frames" obstructing emancipation of the mind and advocated breaking the "frames." This is entirely wrong. When we emphasize emancipating the mind we mean smashing the trammels of the ideas of the "two whatevers" as well as the force of habit and subjective prejudices under the guidance of Marxism so that our thinking can be suited to reality and so that we can study the new situation and solve new problems. In other words, we mean to seek truth from facts. While emancipating the mind we should never deviate from the four cardinal principles and never bring harm to the lively political situation of stability and unity. If we deviate from the four cardinal principles we will follow a wrong track in emancipating the mind and fall into the quagmire of bourgeois liberalization. If we follow those people who tried to deviate from the four cardinal principles and emancipate the mind through the "Xidan Wall" we will certainly set ourselves against the party and the people. At present a handful of people who like to stir up troubles actually exist. They advocate bourgeois liberalization and advertise it as "emancipating the mind." Their purpose is to negate our party leadership and the socialist system. Therefore, while making continuous efforts to overcome rigidity and semirigidity in thinking and the trend of book worshipping we must also oppose and criticize all erroneous ideas which negate the four cardinal principles on the pretext of "emancipating the mind."

A high degree of democracy is one of the great objectives in building socialism. The socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship, the leadership of the Communist Party, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought all have connections with the question of democracy. However, in real life some people often set the development of democracy against the adherence to the four cardinal principles and talk about so-called "democracy" in abstract

terms. This is really harmful. It is necessary to tell our people and youth clearly that in a socialist society "due to certain domestic factors and influences from abroad class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time to come and may even grow acute under certain conditions." In our country although the exploiting class and the conditions for exploitation have been eliminated there are still counter-revolutionaries, enemy agents, and all kinds of criminal offenders, grafters, embezzlers, and profiteers and speculators who are undermining our socialist order. This phenomenon cannot be completely eliminated in a rather short period of time. It is still a special form of class struggle. Thus, it is still necessary to exercise dictatorship over antisocialist hostile forces and hostile elements. Otherwise, there can never be real socialist democracy. The state's function as a dictatorship and the existence of a regular army, public security, courts, and jails are not contradictory to the democracy of a socialist country. Their effective work is to guarantee rather than to obstruct democratization in a socialist country. The democracy we need today can only be socialist democracy, or people's democracy. It cannot be the democracy characterized by bourgeois individualism. The democracy of the people cannot be separated from the dictatorship over the enemy, nor can it be separated from centralism on the basis of democracy. We are practicing democratic centralism. This is an inseparable part of the socialist system. Under the socialist system one's personal interests must be subordinated to the interests of the collective, the interests of the part must be subordinated to the interests of the whole, and the temporary interests must be subordinated to the long-term interests. This is because under the socialist condition all these interests are fundamentally unified. In the final analysis the relationship between democracy and centralism and the relationship between rights and duties are political and legal expressions of the mutual relationship between various interests mentioned above. To make continuous efforts to promote democracy is a firm and unshakable objective of our party for a long time to come. In the past we did not make sufficient efforts to publicize and practice democracy and many of our systems were imperfect. We did not establish an effective democratic political system. This is one of our main historical lessons in developing socialism. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee our party has been making unremitting efforts to develop a socialist democracy that is suitable for our national conditions. It has emphasized that without democracy there will be no socialist modernization, that democracy should be legalized and systematized, and that the party should carry out its activities within the range permitted by the Constitution and other laws, to accelerate the course of democratization in the political life of both the party and the state and the course of democratization in economic administration and the entire social life. However, when publicizing democracy we must draw a strict distinction between socialist democracy and bourgeois and individualist democracy. We must combine the people's democracy with the dictatorship over the enemy and combine democracy with centralism, the legal system, discipline, and the party leadership. If we deviate from the four cardinal principles and talk about democracy in an abstract way we will inevitably commit the mistakes of extreme democratization and anarchism, the political situation of stability and unity will be undermined, and the smooth progress of the socialist modernization drive will be seriously obstructed.

## WHAT ARE SHARES AND THE SHAREHOLDING SYSTEM?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 87 pp 45-46

[Article by Liu Guangdi [0491 0342 4574]]

[Text] Shares and the shareholding system are two related but different categories in the commodity economy. "Shares" refer to an economic phenomenon whereby an enterprise's total capital or funds is divided into various units of equal amounts of funds, which are owned by different people. When a person possesses one unit, it is said that he owns one "share." This concept of "shares" appeared at the end of the primitive commune stage and its use was expanded during the slave society and feudal society. Engels, when discussing the significance of shares, pointed out: "In the Middle Ages all guilds were established in accordance with the Ma-er-ke [7456 1422 0344] guild...and in them each share enjoyed an equal interest, and like the land shares of the members of the Ma-er-ke guild, the rights and obligations of each share could be divided up." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 25, p 1020) By the time of the slave society appeared some liberated slaves who collected their funds together as shareholders in accordance with certain rules and started certain undertakings. There are many records of such activities in history books. In feudal society there was a clear increase in the collecting of funds through shares to operate shops and workshops. In the capitalist period the commodity economy has seen rapid development and the share-style economy has become more widespread.

In our nation, back in the Jinggangshan revolutionary base period, the party organized peasants in accordance with the shares-form to run their supply and marketing cooperatives and credit cooperatives. During the period of agricultural cooperativization the vast number of individual peasants were organized through the form of land, funds and agricultural tools shareholding into agricultural collective economies and various types of cooperatives. At the present stage as our country increasingly develops the cooperative economy, partnership economy and joint economy, many forms using shares have emerged.

The "shareholding system" is a type of enterprise organizational and operational management system by which a share company is used to gather idle capital (or funds) in society and regulate the allocation of social resources. It is a product of the development of socialized large-scale production and the commodity economy and was produced and developed under



capitalist production forms. It is formed from three components--share companies, shares and share markets. Its characteristics are as follows:

1. The share system is based on issue of shares. In history there were some share organizations which were not based on the issue of shares and today in various countries around the world there are some companies which are not based on the issue of shares. Only those shareholdings included in the shareholding system are established on the basis of the issue of shares. Shares are certificates issued to investors when the share company raises funds. Shareholders cannot return their shares to the company and cannot raise funds. Shareholders cannot return their shares to the company and cannot demand a refund for their investment, but they can buy and sell shares or use them as collateral. This is different from other shares. For example, in our nation's cooperative economy, when cooperative members withdraw from the cooperative their share of funds can be withdrawn, while the funds used to purchase shares cannot be withdrawn. The price of shares is not fixed but fluctuates around the face value of the share in accordance with market conditions.

2. The shareholding system has a core of share companies in which funds are raised through share companies issuing shares. Share companies are operational structures or organizations which raise funds over the short term through the issuance of shares in order to resolve the problem of fund sources. They can be basically divided into limited share companies and unlimited share companies. Limited share companies divide total capital (or funds) into equal portions and the shareholders are only responsible for the shares they have subscribed to. An unlimited share company is a company's shareholder and has joint and unlimited responsibility for discharging the company's debts. Regardless of the type of share company the shareholders must take on the risks of investment.

3. The shareholding system depends on the trading of shares. Shares can be freely bought and sold on the market and thus can circulate, attracting investors to purchase shares. Thus, the implementation of a shareholding system is conditional on having a share market.

The shareholding system as an enterprise organizational and operational management system is not an independent ownership system. In itself it has no fixed social nature and thus it is suited to different social systems. It is an important structure in developing the commodity economy. The socialist shareholding system in its organizational form and functions has some similarities to the capitalist shareholding system. However, because the social systems are different there exist basic differences.

1. The socialist shareholding system is an enterprise organizational and operational management structure built on a base in which public ownership of the means of production is the main form and in which social funds are collected together within certain limits. It cannot be widely implemented like the capitalist shareholding system. This is because the large and medium-size whole-people ownership enterprises are the backbone of the national economy. They are the powerful material base for socialist

construction and are a major guarantee for adherence to the socialist direction. Also, there are limited idle funds in society and they cannot satisfy the investment demands of the large and medium-size enterprises. They must still rely on credit from state banks to resolve their fund requirements. Therefore, the shareholder system can only be implemented within certain limits and under certain conditions and it is thus that it will become a form of enterprise organizational and operational management in our country's national economic development.

2. The issue of socialist shares is carried out under the guidance of state planning. What our country has implemented is a planned commodity economy which has a far stronger planned nature and macrocontrol ability than a capitalist economy has. Within a set period the amount of shares needed to be issued throughout the nation and the amount of funds which can be raised through the the issuance of shares are all decided through the guidance of state planning. We cannot do this like the capitalist financial markets where it is completely subject to automatic regulation by monopoly capital's interests and market regulation.

3. The issue of socialist shares is carried out under the guidance of state economic planning and the supervision of the law and in the financial market speculative buying and selling activities are not permitted. The vast majority of our nation's labor force are laborers and dividends do not form their main source of income. Parasites are subject to social disdain and there is no social environment to produce a rentier class. At the same time we can through various laws, economic policies and administrative measures, effectively guard against and restrict the appearance of rentiers. Thus, it cannot be like capitalism, which on the basis of private ownership, produces an independent rentier class.

4. The banks of socialist countries are major regulators of financial market. Through the use of laws and economic and administrative measures they influence the supply and demand for money in the market and effectively restrict those economic activities which depart from the socialist track. In this way the issue of shares and their trading serve the needs of socialist economic construction and guarantee that market regulation follows the socialist direction forward.

At present in the economic structural reforms, some collective, joint, cooperative and association enterprises and a small number of state-run enterprises are experimenting with the shareholding system in order to increase their funds. These experimental points have made valuable explorations in promoting lateral economic alliances and speeding the raising of funds so that the various production factors are more effectively combined and the development of the commodity economy is accelerated. We must research in a serious and overall way and summarize from lessons and experiences of these experimental points. In the past our research into the shareholding system was insufficiently deep, relevant legislation was incomplete and associated service organs were imperfect. At the present stage we should adopt a cautious attitude in developing the shareholding system so that the economic structural reforms can develop in a healthy way.

## THOUGHTS ON FLAGS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 87 p 47

[Article by Xiao Xuan [5135 2467]]

[Text] For quite a long time now, every morning I have crossed Tiananmen Square and seen the soldiers on guard solemnly raising the national flag in the dawn. At this time the people all around stand still and in their faces there is an expression of solemnity. I too feel an upsurge of emotion at this.

I have also often seen athletes on television receiving gold medals at sports events in other countries looking up at the 5-starred red flag as the magnificent strains of the national anthem gradually grow, and involuntarily burst into warm tears. When the South Pole investigation team stepped onto the icy continent and raised the 5-starred red flag high in the sky everybody's face filled with the smile of victory...ah! The national flag represents the republic's dignity--it is the concentrated essence of the blood and fire of the arduous course of the Chinese revolution, and at the same time symbolizes victory. How could any son or daughter of China who warmly loves the motherland not feel pride, inspiration and encouragement under this flag.

I often think that the discovery of flags by man's ancestors was truly a great beginning. I do not wish to go into historical textual research but it seems that the earliest flags were certainly a type of symbol representing, in a centralized way, the people's ideals and convictions and having great unifying force and great appeal. As soon as the banner of justice was raised there was a response from the four directions, this truly shows the power of a flag.

There are physical flags because in people's hearts there are spiritual "flags." On the eve of the liberation of the whole country the Communist Party members and revolutionary fighters who had been imprisoned through Kuomintang-U.S. cooperation embroidered a flag by hand. On this flag there was a large 5-pointed star in the middle and four small stars at the four corners, different from the official national flag. However, people who came later did not think that this was funny and instead were deeply moved. What the martyrs embroidered was the deep feelings in their hearts, and was



in fact the "flag" in their heart. When they clearly knew that the republic for which they had struggled and braved untold dangers was about to be born, but they would most likely not live to see it, not only were they not sad, they were truly happy. Because they knew that their blood would not have been shed vainly, they hailed the "flag" in their hearts--the victory of communist ideals and convictions. Only when there is this type of "flag" in a heart can there be these kinds of noble sentiments and broadheartedness.

In fact, all the achievements and victories we have scored are victories of ideals and convictions. If there was not this "flag" there would not have been the sounds of gunfire in Nanchang city, or the campfires on Jinggangshan. There would not have been the Long March or the great paean of the 8 years of resistance against the Japanese...and today there would have been no 5-starred red flag in Tiananmen Square.

Clearly we are presently economically poor and backward. This situation requires our great efforts to make the country prosperous. We must head in the direction indicated by the "flag" in our hearts and proceed persistently and dauntlessly in that direction to finally change this situation. This is because history has shown us that in China, other roads cannot be taken and only socialism can save China. The first generation of revolutionaries gave their blood and their lives to test and verify the correctness of the direction indicated by this flag and our republic has realized achievements which are recognized throughout the world. In a situation where material conditions were extremely poor the party, in leading the revolution to victory, had as its most basic point, reliance on the "flag" of ideals and convictions. Today, now that material conditions are better, we should cherish the flag which leads us to victory even more and raise high the "flag" of ideals and convictions in our hearts. If anyone wants to alter or get rid of our flag and travel evil ways, then no person who warmly loves this flag should respond.

Early each morning as I hear the tune of "the 5-starred red flag fluttering in the wind" it seems like I am hearing the steps of 1 billion people striding majestically, advancing along the great road of socialism.

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THE LIGHT OF THE NATIONAL SPIRIT SPARKLES--COMMENTING ON THE TV SERIES  
'SNOWY FIELDS'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 87 p 48

[Article by Guo Rui [6753 3843]]

[Text] The television series "Snowy Fields" produced by Liaoning Television Station aroused great applause from viewers. Several thousand letters from viewers were sent to the television station. This television series touched and shook people's hearts. We could see the spiritual quality and vigor of the Chinese nation from those characters like Wu Qiuxiang, Qi Laifu, and Big Lin. This spiritual quality was like the vast and bountiful snowy fields in the way that it was not only simple, pure, and forceful, but also vigorous, chilly, and solemn, and was full of life.

The director put a lot of effort into the portrayal of Wu Qiuxiang, a typical village woman of our time. She was firm and affectionate and we could find in her a very remarkable individual characteristic--an endless drive in the pursuit of ideal love and marriage. "Though she might have to lead a difficult life," she still "desired to go in search of her loving heart." This simple love declaration expressed the most natural and reasonable demand of general labor women. Idealism in love and marriage was what made Wu Qiuxiang more superior than other women around her. With such an ideal in mind she refused to lead a life without love and dared to challenge reality and fate. She clenched her teeth and led an impoverished and solitary life. She withstood public pressure, bore the unhappiness of being called "the evil spirit" and "unfaithful woman," and swallowed the bitterness of life. This was a very vivid image of a local village woman who rebelled against old customs. She never compromised or moved backward in the fight against those feudal and worldly ideas of "staying with one's husband forever" and "being loyal and faithful to one's husband till death." She showed no sign of cowardice at all. Though she wept in the dark for the frustration that she repeatedly met with, she always maintained the arrogance of a challenger in the face of obsolete traditions. We should take note of the fact that unlike some artistic pieces that "gain general applause" nowadays, this television series did not touch much on the "sexual thirst" of this widow. Instead it creatively placed her romantic life in the lives of labors. Thus, she became a perfect embodiment of both a love admirer and a life creator. She was a knowledgeable and diligent woman, willing to

accept and explore new things after the village economic reform had been undergone. The portrayal not only added rich content to the spiritual world of the lady protagonist, but also provided a firm foundation for the development of her character.

The success in the portrayal of another character, Qi Laifu, was in no way second to that of Wu Qiuxiang if we look at it from the angle of character portrayal. He was honest, simple and kind-hearted, but very "stupid." This very character who was scorned by both his wife and other people was a man of passion, self-sacrifice, perseverance and self-pride. Though he bought Wu Qiuxiang for the price of two bags of beans, his love for her was sincere and eternal. He left his house and all his property to Wu Qiuxiang and Xiaolin when he divorced. When Wu Qiuxiang had problems in operating the farm and the food shop, he bore great mental pressure and gave her his utmost support. When people vilified Wu Qiuxiang, he protested against it with curt finality. Though he loved her deeply, he never forced her to do what she was not willing to do. People laughed at him for being weak and cowardly in his relationship with Wu Qiuxiang. But to me, he had a self-sacrificial spirit and a boldness to withstand mental pain. He had a real man's quality that ordinary men do not have. The image of Big Lin was also very touching. He was rugged in outlook and bold and uninhibited in character. Yet he was rich and delicate emotionally. In handling love affairs he was not selfish and had self-respect. His behavior led people to see a heart which was as clear as crystal.

Wu Qiuxiang, Qi Laifu, and Big Lin are all common peasants in our nation's villages. They are all very common; they have their own weaknesses and incapacities, like Wu Qiuxiang's credence to others, the stupidity of Qi Laifu, and the rudeness of Big Lin. Yet these demerits can never cover up their valuable qualities. The director of "Snowy Fields" knew the dialectics of both life and art. He explored the deep and forceful inner spirit of our nation with reference to all conflicting phenomena. Our national psychological quality has its own weaknesses for a number of reasons, but will continue to pursue our ideal. We will persevere and be unyielding in the face of whatever difficulties arise, and bold in sacrificing ourselves. All these constitute a valuable foundation for establishing socialized spiritual civilization. Bie-lin-si-ji [0446 2651 2448 1015] said: "Literature, no matter how it is defined, is the power and fruit of national consciousness and national spiritual life." The success of "Snowy Fields" lies in the fact that it can accurately reveal the inner state of the national psychology and vividly present the endless drive of the Chinese nation in the new era of vigorous reforms.

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READING COMRADE FEI XIAOTONG'S FAMOUS WORK 'THE ECONOMY OF JIANGCUN'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 87 inside back cover

[Article by Gao Huai [7559 2037]]

[Text] "The Economy of Jiangcun" is the work by which our nation's famous sociologist Fei Xiaotong made his name. In the summer of 1936 Fei Xiaotong carried out over a month-long investigation on his hometown, Kaixiangong village in Miaogang township, Wujiang County in Jiangsu Province, and then went to do advanced studies in the anthropology department at the London School of Economics in the United Kingdom. In 1938 he obtained his doctorate with a thesis entitled "Kaixiangong--the Economic Life of a Chinese Village." In 1939 in London he published the English-language work "Peasant Life in China," also called "The Economy of Jiangcun." (Jiangcun is the scientific name Fei used for Kaixiangong.) After this book was published it was hailed by some foreign scholars as "a milestone in the development of anthropological field investigation and theoretical work." It was made compulsory reading in anthropology courses in many Western universities. Over the last half century this book has been reprinted abroad many times and it has been greatly influential. In recognition of his contribution to anthropological research, in 1981 the British Royal Anthropological Society awarded him the (?Huxley) [He-xu-li 6378 5171 7812] medal and concurrently reprinted his book. However, although this book is well known abroad, few people in China knew of it and many comrades engaged in research on the village economy and social questions ardently wished to see this work. Because old Fei was very busy with his work he asked Comrade Dai Kejing [2071 0668 2529] of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences to translate the original work into Chinese, and now it has been published by the Jiangsu People's Publishing House. Also included in the book are two articles written by Comrade Fei Xiaotong, one after he visited Jiangcun after its reliberation in 1957 and the other after he visited there for a third time in 1982. The article "Peasant Life Under Communist Leadership" written by Professor W.R. Geddes, the head of the anthropology department at the University of Sydney in Australia, after his visit to China and where he did field work at Jiangcun is included as an appendix. These all provide rich materials for studying China's village economic and social development.

Although the details provided in the book "The Economy of Jiangcun" relate to the situation in one village in Wujiang County, Jiangsu Province in the

1930's, in fact it epitomizes the village economy and society of old China. The book has 16 chapters and they touch on many issues, including land ownership, agricultural production, developing village industry and other herding and sideline industries, popularizing education, propagating advanced science and technology, medical treatment and health, environment and dwellings, population and birth, family and marriage and so on. It even touches on the issue of maintaining the spiritual mainstays of clan and family members--the feudal ethical and moral concepts. For all these issues the book provides detailed descriptions and analyses. Of course, the many malpractices of old China were incurable and it has only been in the socialism of the national economy that we have been able to begin gradually sweeping away the basic causes of feudalism, unenlightenment, benightedness, backwardness, poverty and bitterness in the villages.

Earnest, down-to-earth, deep and detailed research, being faithful to facts and being objective in analysis and research are the bases on which this book obtained its reputation. All comrades who intend to engage in social science research should pay attention to on-the-spot investigations and persist in linking theory with facts. In this respect "The Economy of Jiangcun" is worth our study. It should also be pointed out that the language in "The Economy of Jiangcun" is smooth and easy to understand. It presents to us a tableau of a village in old China enabling everybody to widely understand the social and economic situations at that time. In brief, it is a book worth reading not just for its sociological and anthropological aspects, but also its economic, historical and literary aspects.

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